THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DRINKING SCENE IN THE DUKHANG AT ALCHI, LADAKH

Marjo Alafouzo

VOLUME 1: TEXT

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

June 2008

SOAS LIBRARY LONDON UNIV.

ProQuest Number: 11015850

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 11015850

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

I confirm that all material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person (s). I also confirm that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

Marjo Alafouzo

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the iconography of "The Royal Drinking Scene", a mural situated in the Dukhang at Alchi, Ladakh. The mural is a rare occurrence of a secular scene amidst Buddhist portrayal in a Tibetan temple. The iconographic analysis in this thesis aims to specify artistic currents in the scene, and to place them into a more defined cultural context. Previous academic research has noted the foreign influences in the mural, but has failed to determine their origin. This is partly due to lack of coherent written historical sources for 7th-11th century Ladakh. Thus, in addition to comparative and stylistic art historical analysis, and meagre Tibetan written accounts, this thesis will incorporate Islamic geographical records to add information to the region's pre-12th century history. Through the examination of the region's road connections to the west, Ladakh's role in Tibetan empire will also be ascertained. The art historical discussion will include a comparative study of the architecture of the Dukhang, which shows archaic, non-Tibetan traditions. The inscriptional evidence forms an important part of establishing a historical background for the mural. The main approach in an attempt to define the mural's foreign, non-Tibetan elements, however, is art historical. Therefore, the available historical evidence will mainly be used to support the art historical finding of "The Royal Drinking Scene", which will be summarised by examining a previously unpublished mural in the Dukhang. The iconographical analysis undertaken in this thesis will suggest a new interpretation for the 11th century history of Ladakh.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I should like to acknowledge the help and support of my supervisor, Philip Denwood. His profound knowledge and understanding of Tibetan culture and language has been inspirational in the writing of this thesis, and I shall always be grateful to him for introducing and teaching me the history and arts of Tibet.

I should also like to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Dr Amy Heller, an independent scholar on Tibetan art, Switzerland for her interest in my research and helpful suggestions she has given me. Lionel Fournier, France, has been most generous with his collection of Tibetan visual material. This research would not have developed the way it did without Mr Fournier's help. I have also benefited enormously from my discussions with Neil Howard, private scholar specialising in the history of the western Himalaya. His knowledge of Ladakh has been of immense value in my research.

I should like to thank Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Nasser D. Khalili Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture, Department of Art and Archaeology, SOAS for her help regarding Islamic and early Turkic art history. I am very grateful for her constructive comments. Roderick Whitfield, Professor Emeritus taught me about the Buddhist arts of the Silk Road, and his teachings have proved invaluable in my research. Miss Yasumura at the SOAS library has always been very helpful to me in my enquiries. I should also like to thank my former students and colleagues at IFCELS, SOAS.

I should also like to acknowledge the help of the following individuals: Dr John Clarke, Curator of the Himalayan collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Anna Maria Rossi, Fabio Rossi and Inne Broos at Rossi and Rossi Limited, London, Mr Nicholas Rhodes, an independent scholar, London and Professor Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter at the Institute of Art History, Vienna University, Austria. Verena Widorn and Verena Ziegler at the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna (WHAV), Austria, have been extremely helpful, often at a short notice, with visual material. The extraordinary images from WHAV have enriched this thesis.

My friends have been supportive of my efforts over the years, and I would like to thank Ms Nazenin Ansari, Michèle Beaconsfield-Press (FRCS, FRCOph.), Aki Cola, Kate Cole, Joanna El-Nemr, Amanda Feeny, Dr Madhuvanti Ghose, Alessandra Invernizzi, Neelam Khosla-Stevens, Maryam Mafi, Rima Sabbagh and Rosalind Stephens for being there for me. I owe a very special thank you to Hilary Smith, who stepped in at the crucial final stages, and edited and formatted the text. Her help and encouragement have been invaluable.

My mother-in-law Mary Alafouzo has been of great practical help and encouragement. Lastly but not least, I should like to thank my family. The support of my husband George and my daughters Emma and Alexis has been unwavering over the years, and it is therefore to them that I dedicate this thesis.

Note on spelling

All Tibetan words in italics are transcribed according to the Wylie system; those in roman are phonetic renderings. For Sanskrit names, diacritics have been added except for words that have become part of the English language, for example, mandala. In Turkic names, "Q" is used in preference to "K".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Buddhist temple complex of Alchi in Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, northern India consists of six temples, dating from *c.* mid-11th to the 13th century (map 1A). The earliest temple on the site is the Dukhang, or Assembly Hall, but perhaps the best known is the slightly later Sumtsek (a three-storeyed temple). Its Buddhist murals and the decorated ceiling have been subjected to scholarly research during the past two decades.[1] However, the so-called "Royal Drinking Scene" is, to date, the only secular mural in the Dukhang which has been published and commented on by scholars.[2] The foreign artistic currents present in the mural have been described generally as Central Asian in origin, but the term "Central Asian" is perhaps too ambiguous, both geographically and temporally to serve as a classification in art historical terms. Therefore, to narrow the term to a more meaningful definition, the focus of this thesis is the iconography of the "Royal Drinking Scene," which will be analysed in conjunction with the historical events in the region.

Modern historical research on Alchi dates from the beginning of the 20th century, when August Hermann Francke, a member of the German Moravian Church Mission in Ladakh began the task of collecting local historical material as well as visiting sites in the area. He published several articles and books on his findings, and many of his conclusions, including translations from Tibetan inscriptions and

[1] The most recent research is by Roger Goepper (Goepper 1990, 1995, 1996(a), 1996(b)).
[2] David Snellgrove was the first scholar to study the mural in detail and it was he who gave it its present title (Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977). Goepper (1999: 16-21) discussed the Buddhist murals of Akshobhya and his paradise in the Dukhang. Flood (2005) has analysed the iconography of the mural from the perspective of Islamic arts.

written sources remain unchallenged today. While Francke did not specifically concentrate his scholarly efforts on Alchi, he was nevertheless the first European to record the existence of the temple complex. His description of Alchi appears in Volume I of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1914, the Archaeological Survey of India). Francke dated the Dukhang to the 11th century, and he also noted the Kashmiri influence on the woodwork of the entrance porch to the Sumtsek, and referred to the murals as painted in Mughal style.[3] Volume II of the *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (published in 1926) contains the Ladakhi Royal Chronicle (*La dvags rgyal rabs*) and minor chronicles, which Francke attempted to translate from Tibetan, and thereby shed light on early Ladakhi history. The historical period that is up to about the 15th century in the Chronicle is considered by modern scholars to be unreliable since it was only compiled in the 17th century, that is, much later than the actual events.

The Italian Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci is perhaps best known for his *Indo-Tibetica*, which is a seven volume pioneering work on western Tibetan temples and their art published in 1935. Alchi is not included in *Indo-Tibetica*, but is briefly mentioned in Tucci's 1973 publication *Transhimalaya*, where he notes the temple's frescoes [sic].[4] The Indian architect Romi Khosla surveyed Alchi and other Western Himalayan temples in the 1970s, and his results were published in *Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Himalaya* (1979). In the mid-1970s when Ladakh was opened to foreigners, David Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, travelled to the area to study its Buddhist art and architecture. Their findings on the temples of the Ladakhi

[3] Francke: 1992 (reprint of the 1914 original): 89-91.
[4] Tucci: 1973: 181. He noted at least three different periods in the murals, ranging from the late 10th-11th century to the Mughal times.

region were published in two volumes entitled *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh.* The first volume includes a detailed discussion of Alchi, where Snellgrove particularly commented on the murals in the Dukhang and the Sumtsek. Philip Denwood also visited Alchi and translated the Tibetan inscriptions found there, and those carved on the boulders near the temple. His findings are published in the second volume. Denwood dated the Dukhang to *c.*1050 and the Sumtsek to the late 11th-early 12th century on the basis of the content and palaeography of the inscriptional evidence in the two temples.

In 1977 the Italian Tibetologist Luciano Petech published *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842*, an updated version of his *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* (1939). Petech's work focuses on the history of Ladakh rather than on its art history, and he dismisses the importance of the region before the establishment of the first Ladakhi dynasty *c.* 950. He thus argues that the Tibetanisation of Ladakh could not have started before 1000 AD. His updated historical introduction of western Tibet appears in Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter's *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom* (1997).[5] Petech's 1977 study has since been critically discussed by scholars. The article by the Hungarian scholar Geza Uray, "The Old Name of Ladakh" (1990) contains important considerations, shedding light on the fragmented early history of Ladakh. Uray's demonstration that the name *Mar yul* in early 8th century Tibetan historical records refers in fact to Ladakh, defines the region's position and importance in early Tibetan history.

[5] Petech: 1997a: "Western Tibet: Historical Introduction," pp. 229-55.

An Indian art historian Pratapaditya Pal and the French independent scholar Lionel Fournier published *A Buddhist Paradise: The Murals of Alchi, Western Himalayas* in 1982. They accepted the findings of Snellgrove and Skorupski, and the dating suggested by Philip Denwood. The emphasis of the publication is on the murals in which Pal notes principally Kashmiri influences.[6] In the 1980s the German scholar Roger Goepper began his studies on Alchi, in conjunction with Jaroslaw Poncar, who photographed the murals in the temple complex. In 1990 Goepper published previously unseen Tibetan inscriptions on the third floor of the Sumtsek, and on the basis of these he dated the Sumtsek to *c.*1200.[7] Consequently, he also moved the date of the Dukhang to the 12th century.[8] The early 13th century dating of Sumtsek contradicts that given by Denwood, and raises questions about the temple's historical context. It seems possible that the third floor inscriptions are 13th century additions from a renovation phase, perhaps because the temple was reconsecrated.[9] It is known that the Sumtsek and some of its murals were renovated during the 16th century.[10] *Alchi: The Sumtsek: Ladakh's Hidden Sanctuary* (1996) is the main publication of Goepper's studies, in which he has uncritically accepted the results of earlier research undertaken by Francke and Petech on the historical background of the region.

In his most recent article, "More evidence for dating the Sumtsek in Alchi and its relations with Kashmir", Goepper repeats his previously suggested date of *c.* 1200

[6] Pal and Fournier: 1982: 19-21, 25-7.
[7] Goepper: 1990
[8] Goepper: 1999.
[9] Denwood has noted the several misspellings on the third floor inscriptions, and differences in the style of writing compared to the ground floor inscriptions (personal communication, 2004).
[10] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 48-9.

for the Sumtsek, and notes the Kashmiri artistic influences in the murals.[11] Lionel Fournier and Philip Denwood have recently challenged Goepper's dating for the Sumtsek and the Dukhang.[12] Heather Stoddard has also doubted Goepper's dating on the grounds of iconographic content.[13]

The Islamic scholar Finbarr Barry Flood has discussed both the Dukhang and the Sumtsek murals. His article, "A Royal Drinking Scene from Alchi: Iranian iconography in the Western Himalayas", was published in 2005 in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art* and discusses extensively the several artistic influences in "The Royal Drinking Scene," which he analyses largely from the Islamic perspective. His earlier article, "Mobility and mutation: Iranian hunting themes in the murals of Alchi, Western Himalayas" (1991) examines the motif of the mounted horseman on the ceiling of the Sumtsek in the context of Iranian antecedents to connect the motif to a wider cultural background. Flood's analysis and discussion of "The Royal Drinking Scene" is essentially iconographic and the most comprehensive to date.

All the previous research will be critically assessed during the iconographic discussion in this thesis. Prior to analysing the iconography of "The Royal Drinking Scene" in the Dukhang, Ladakh's historical role during the 7th-10th centuries will be discussed in Chapter I. There are practically no written sources for Ladakh's early history, and thus the examination will be made in the context of the Tibetan

[11] Goepper: 2003.
[12] Lionel Fournier in Bléhaut (2001); Denwood (2005b). According to Fournier (Bléhaut:2001:72-3) Goepper's 13th century dating has to be rejected as the murals belong to the 11th or 12th century on stylistic, epigraphic and iconographic grounds. He particularly notes that the iconography in the Sumtsek murals is not '*Bri gung*. The third floor portrayal of nine masters and the inscriptions specifically refer to the '*Bri gung pa* lineage.
[13] Stoddard: 2003a: 67, fn. 26.

empire's military expansion to the west, in which Ladakh's geographical location was an important factor, and following on this, Tibet's route connections towards the west will also be examined. The epigraphic evidence in Ladakh will be discussed in order to shed light on the region's past. The Muslim geographical sources from the 9th -12th centuries form an important part of the analysis for establishing Ladakh's history, as they focused on trade and especially on the land routes to the west of Tibet.

In Chapter II the emphasis will be on the architecture of the Dukhang, which will be compared to that of the Sumtsek and the temples of Mangyu, Sumda and Wanla. The architectural details of the Dukhang and their possible artistic influences will be analysed in the context of the temple's doorway. The inscriptional evidence found in the Dukhang will be summarised, as it forms an important part of the evidence for dating the temple to *c.* mid-11th century.

In Chapter III "The Royal Drinking Scene" will be subjected to an extensive comparative iconographic analysis, which will selectively choose art historical examples from Tibet, the Islamic regions and Inner Asia. The chapter will conclude by discussing a previously unpublished mural in the Dukhang, which represents themes that confirm and summarise the findings concerning "The Royal Drinking Scene." In Chapter IV, the art historical results will be examined in the context of 11th-12th century historical events in Ladakh and western Tibet. The thesis concludes with a new interpretation of early mediaeval history in Ladakh, a conclusion largely reached by using the tools of art historical analysis.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF LADAKH

Modern Ladakh

Ladakh is situated in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, in the Western Himalayas (map 1). The region is bounded by the Karakoram mountain range in the northwest and by the Great Himalaya in the south. Despite these forbidding natural barriers, Ladakh has several passes and land routes that have made the region accessible to the outside world since the earliest times. Its closest neighbours are Tibet to the east, Kashmir to the south and in the west the Northern Areas of Pakistan, which include Baltistan, Nagar (or Nagir), Hunza, Gilgit and Yasin[1] (map 2). To the north over the Karakoram passes lies Xinjiang (Chinese Central Asia), where Khotan on the Southern Silk Road was an ancient trading centre. Historically, Ladakh has had cultural, economic and/or military contacts with all the above regions. Aspects of these contacts will be discussed in this and the following chapters.

The temple complex of Alchi, lying at an altitude of about 3500 metres, is situated in a valley of the same name, near the south bank of the Indus River. The capital Leh is about 60 kilometres to the south east of Alchi on the northern side of the Indus (map 1A). The total area of Ladakh covers 58,321 square kilometres, most of the land being a mountainous desert, with scattered small areas of greenery.

[1] Dani: 1998: 215. There is no historical name for the entire region. Northern Areas of Pakistan excludes Chitral, which is now a district of the North-West Frontier Province.The area to the west of Ladakh is frequently referred to by scholars as "the Pamir region". This is not correct geographically as the Pamir region can be accessed from Ladakh via Baltistan and/or Gilgit but it is not to the immediate west of Ladakh.

Present-day economic activity is limited to an area of 620 square kilometres, of which approximately 250 square kilometres is under cultivation.[2] The population figure in 1996 was estimated to be about 170,000.[3] Both Buddhism and Islam are practised in Ladakh, although Buddhism has historically been the main religion. Whilst Islam was introduced gradually in the 17th century,[4] it seems Buddhism was established in Ladakh during the 8th century occupation by the Yarlung dynasty, if not before. A 6th century Sanskrit Buddhist inscription found at Skardu in Baltistan attests to Buddhism in the region.[5] According to Denwood, the Tibetan language was introduced to the region perhaps as early as the 7th century and therefore, it is possible that the Tibetanisation of Ladakh began at about this time, too.[6]

Over the centuries, Ladakh's general economic pattern, apart from modern day tourism, has not changed dramatically as it depends on the natural environment. Due to the extremely dry climate, the very cold, long winters and the sparse pasture, Ladakh's agricultural production is limited. Ladakhis rely both on crop- and animal- husbandry for their necessities. Today's agricultural produce includes barley, wheat, apples and apricots, as well as mulberry and walnuts. Sheep are an important part of the Ladakhi economy and several breeds, well-adapted over the centuries to the local environment, are characteristic of the scene. They are valued for their wool, their qualities as pack animals, for their dung used as fertiliser, and to a lesser extent, for their meat.[7] According to Monisha Ahmed, "wool-processing

[2] Sheikh: 1999: 340.
[3] Rizvi: 1996: 114. In 1981, the population figure was 132,299.
[4] Dollfus (1995: 321) suggests Islam came to Ladakh with the caravans that traded between Kashmir, Tibet and Xinjiang.
[5] Von Hinüber: 2004: p. 68 ff.
[6] Denwood: 1995: 281-87; 2005a.
[7] Cunningham (1854: 238) noted that coarse woollen blankets and cloth were woven from sheep's wool, mainly for local consumption.

activities, from the shearing of the sheep to spinning and weaving, have always been a customary way of life in the region."[8] Wool has thus been an integral part of life in Ladakh, and even today, weaving is a common pastime amongst men in the villages of central and western Ladakh.[9] The finest and economically the most profitable wool is called pashm, produced by the Changthang goat, which is reared by the pastoralists of the Changthang plateau, in the northeast of Ladakh (map 2; area that surrounds Rudok).[10]

Historically, Ladakh has been associated with trade. The region's geographical position has made it ideal for merchants travelling from Kashmir to Xinjiang or to Tibet, or even to the west via the Northern Areas of Pakistan. In *c.*1600, the first recorded European visitor to Ladakh, the Portuguese Diogo d'Almeida described Ladakh as rich in gold and precious stones, and the king as not tolerating any infidels [non-Buddhist] except passing merchants.[11] In 1715 the Jesuit father Desideri travelled to Ladakh and Kashmir, and gave the following account of Ladakhi produce: "Barley is the chief product; a little wheat is grown, and in some places apricots. There are many sheep: ...their wool extraordinarily fine. Musk deer also exist."[12] He also referred to Kashmiri merchants living in the kingdom, who were engaged in the wool trade, and to natives finding gold dust.[13] The 1684 Treaty of Tingmosgang granted the monopoly of the shawl-wool produced in Tibet to

[8] Ahmed: 2002:19
[9] *Ibid.* 14. In the Changthang region both women and men weave.
[10] Strictly speaking, the Changthang wool is not a Ladakhi product, but is sold to Ladakhi merchants, who handle its redistribution to Kashmir. The pashm has been the backbone of the Kashmiri shawl industry at least since the 17th century (Rizvi: 2001: 50-1).
[11] Petech: 1999: 174-5; Rizvi: 2001: 183.
[12] De Filippi: 1937: 78.
[13] *Ibid.*

Ladakh, which in turn had to supply it to Kashmir.[14] Ladakh was also involved in trade between Khotan and Tibet: merchants from Khotan brought pedigree horses, cotton goods and other merchandise, while from Tibet came tea and tobacco, bales of silk, and Chinese goods.[15] Desideri's description of the agricultural produce and the importance of sheep demonstrate that the two have remained largely unchanged over the centuries.

Thus, while Ladakh itself is not noted for its produce for export, the region has had an historical role in the transit trade. The Briton Samuel Turner, who visited Tibet in the 18th century, noted Ladakh's position as a carrier on the transit trade between Tibet and Kashmir importing fine wool from the former and exporting shawls and dried fruits.[16] In 1821 William Moorcroft noted that while the commerce of Ladakh itself was of no great value or interest, the region's central situation was.[17] Alexander Cunningham also observed "the chief source of wealth in Ladakh is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories."[18] The transit trade had an impact on the Ladakhi economy, as the locals catered to the needs of the passing merchants by providing them with food, and their pack animals with forage, by selling rough wool sacks to the traders, and hiring out sheep and yaks for carriage. Thus, historically Ladakh had acted as an entrepôt because of its geographical position.

[14] Rizvi: 2001: 53. A 17th century Frenchman François Bernier, who travelled in Kashmir noted the wool trade between Ladakh and Kashmir (Bernier: 1891: 426).
[15] *Ibid.* Desideri noted that the capital of Ladakh was Leh while in the 16th century it was Shey.
[16] Warikoo: 1992: 854.
[17] Moorcroft: 1986 (reprint of the 1837 original): II: 206.
[18] Cunningham: 1854: 241.

Ladakh in the 7th- 8th centuries

Ladakh's early history between the 7th and the 10th centuries is particularly poorly documented. Very few references can be found in Tibetan written historical sources, and they mention the region solely in connection with the Yarlung dynasty's expansion towards the west. In conjunction with the meagre written evidence, Ladakh's role in the Tibetan empire may be assumed on geographical grounds, possibly as early as the late 7th century. Thus, my focus will be on Ladakh's location in an attempt to discuss historical events in the region.

1. The old name of Ladakh

Scholars have recently established the earliest known reference to Ladakh, which originally appeared in the travel memoir of the early 7th century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang although he never visited Ladakh.[19] He wrote the following description: "North of this [Lahul] 2000 li or so, travelling by a road dangerous and precipitous, where icy winds and flying snow (*assault the traveller*), we come to the country [or kingdom] of Mo-lo-so."[20] An original note to the text adds: "[Mo-lo-so] is also called San-po-ho."[21] Alexander Cunningham, A. H. Francke and Paul Pelliot suggested Mo-lo-so (or San-po-ho) implies Ladakh, as the Chinese transcription would be based on *Mar sa*, "Low-land", which was a name implying Ladakh in the past.[22] According to Xuanzang, San-po-ho (*Sampāha*) was at the western frontier of the legendary gold country Suvarnagotra, and Pelliot argued

[19] Beal: 1884: 178
[20] *Ibid.* It is thought Xuanzang wrote his travel memoirs in 629 AD.
[21] Pelliot: 1963: 706. Pelliot points out, that while the Lo-hu-lo [Lahul] is stated to belong to "northern India," a note expressly says that Mo-lo-so "is not within the precincts of India."
[22] *Ibid.* 707. Francke: 1908.

Sampāha would be the Kuluta name of Ladakh.[23] Tucci opposed the identification of Mo-lo-so with Ladakh, since *Mar sa* would be a transcription of a Tibetan name and in the 7th century the Yarlung dynasty had not yet conquered Ladakh.[24]

The majority of 20th century scholars were undecided whether Mo-lo-so was identical with Ladakh,[25] until the Hungarian scholar Geza Uray demonstrated on linguistic grounds that Mo-lo-so did in fact refer to Ladakh.[26] Furthermore, he argued that a reference to "a census of Zan-zun and Mar(d)" in the Tibetan *Annals of Dunhuang* dated to 719-20, implies the regions of Zhangzhung[27] and Ladakh, and thus the two are understood as being different countries.[28] According to Philip Denwood, *Mar yul* is a well-known early name for Ladakh, and names such as *sMa, rMa, sMra, Mar, dMar* and *sMar* are associated with Ladakh in its old designation as *Mar yul*.[29]

2. 7th century historical events

Events that took place in Zhangzhung in western Tibet in the 7th century [30] may be interpreted as part of the background to the Yarlung dynasty's advance into Xinjiang via the areas to the west of Tibet. Zhangzhung (or part of it) revolted

[23] Pelliot: 1963: 706-7. Denwood ("The Tibetans in the West," forthcoming 2008-9.) has suggested that the core of Suvarnagotra was in the area of Rudok in modern western Tibet.
[24] Tucci: 1977: 73.
[25] E.g. Petech 1977: 7-8.
[26] Uray: 1990.
[27] Denwood: 2005a: 35. According to him, the name Zhangzhung seems to correspond to what the Chinese knew as Yangtong.
[28] Uray: 1990. Petech (1977:8) argues that the Annals are inaccurate in listing Zan-zun and Mar as different countries, and that sMar is an epitheton of Zan-zun.
[29] Denwood: 2005a: 37.
[30] As suggested by Beckwith: 1993: 29. According to Denwood (forthcoming 2008-9) in the Yarlung period the core of Zhangzhung was Guge (Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailash included). Chogla and Spiti seem to have been attached to Zhangzhung by the mid-8th century at the latest (see map 1A of this thesis for the western part of Zhangzhung).

against Tibet either in 617-18 or 629, and was reconquered by Tibet in 634-5.[31] The Tibetan *Annals* refer to a complete conquest of Zhangzhung either in 643-4 or 644-5, but further conquests seem to have taken place in 649.[32] In 653 a Tibetan governor was appointed in Zhangzhung[33] and in 662-63 the Tibetan general *mGar stong btsan yul bzung* conducted a levy/census there.[34] In 678-9 the Chinese recorded a total annexation of Zhangzhung by the Tibetan empire,[35] and according to Petech "it is a plain geographical fact that the annexation of Zanzun [Zhangzhung] was a necessary pre-requisite for any further progress westward."[36] Ladakh (under its ancient name *Mar yul*) is not mentioned in conjunction with these 7th century events in Zhangzhung but later Tibetan written sources refer to a conquest of Baltistan during the reign of king *'Dus srong* (677-704).[37] To reach Baltistan the Tibetan army must have used the routes going through Ladakh, and thus the conquest of Baltistan by the Yarlung dynasty implies that Ladakh was also occupied by the early 8th century at the latest. In the following paragraphs I examine the route connections between Ladakh and Baltistan to demonstrate the topography of the region and thereby the sustainability of Ladakh's role in the military movements of the Yarlung dynasty.

The ancient use of the routes from Ladakh to Baltistan is poorly documented, and the earliest recorded evidence is from the 19th century (for the following routes from Ladakh to Baltistan, see map 3; place names marked in red). The so-called

[31] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9. Zhangzhung is referred to as the "matrimonial ally."
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.* 19. Petech (1977: 9) refers to a commissioner instead of a governor.
[34] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9. Petech (1977: 9): "Regular administration was introduced in 662." Beckwith: 1993: 29
[35] Pelliot: 1961: 9, 89.
[36] Petech: 1977: 9
[37] Vitali: 1996: 104. I am grateful to Philip Denwood for this reference.

"summer route" follows the Indus River via Khalatse until Achinatang, where it forks to connect with the very high Chorbat Pass (5010m).[38] The local traders preferred to use the route by the Indus until Khalatse, and reach Kargil via the Fatu Pass and the Namika Pass.[39] They then followed the Dras-Suru River to Marol, and took a narrow trail up the mountainside to Skardu in Baltistan.[40] The "winter route" follows the Indus River,[41] which flows through a deep gorge with steep rocky sides that make the valley very hot in the summer[42] (map 2). According to the 19th century evidence, this track was not suitable for pack animals, and laden porters could only follow it with difficulty. [43] Taking into account the practical requirements of feeding and watering an army on the move and the local weather conditions, it is likely that the Tibetans travelled to Baltistan before the snow blocked the passes, i.e. via the summer route.

To ensure basic food supplies, the troops must have passed through inhabited areas, although it is unlikely that the local economy could have supported a large army on a long-term basis. Following the course of the Indus River would have provided the army with water, and, presumably, small local agricultural settlements along the way would have secured food supplies both for men and horses. Denwood has noted the formation of river terraces where the Indus valley widens (e.g. near Alchi and at Khalatse), and has suggested they could have made ideal sites where large encampments of troops might be established, with access to water and local

[38] This description is based on Drew's itinerary of the route, and according to him, it was used in the summer (Drew: 1875: 538-39). Obviously this is a historically late description of the route.
[39] Rizvi: 2001: 39
[40] *ibid.*
[41] Drew: 1875. Drew described the condition of this route in the 19th century as "not so good".
[42] Rizvi: 2001: 39.
[43] *Ibid.*

produce.[44] In this discussion I have attempted to show that the Tibetan army would have needed to use Ladakh's territory not only for moving its troops but also to supply them. However, the limits of the Ladakhi economy suggest that the Tibetans would have had to spread their military force over large areas to guarantee adequate supplies. Today, the entire northern to northwestern Tibetan plateau is very barren, but there is evidence for its having been more fertile in the ancient past. If the desertification of western Tibet is of recent origin (i.e. in the past few hundred years), then it is possible that before the first millennium the area could have provided supplies to a large army.[45]

Beckwith has suggested that the Tibetan army used "the high passes of Gilgit" to subjugate the kingdom of Wakhan *c.* 656-661[46] (map 2). This implies Tibetan occupation of both Ladakh and today's Northern Areas of Pakistan, which is not supported by the historical sources or by archaeological evidence (e.g. inscriptions). On the contrary, the 7th century art historical evidence in the form of Buddhist metal sculpture with inscriptions of local rulers from the Gilgit region attests to the independent Patola Shahi kingdom, and therefore it is extremely unlikely the Tibetan army would have been allowed to enter and travel through an independent kingdom.[47] By 670 the Tibetans were in control of parts of Xinjiang, including Khotan but they lost their first conquest of the region (map 4) in 692 due to internal

[44] Denwood: 1980: 163.
[45] The barrenness of western Tibet is already attested to in the early 17th century. After perilous travel the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Andrade reached Tsaparang in western Tibet in 1624. He described it "as the most barren spot I ever saw," with no trees or plants. According to the 17th century Kashmiri merchants, Tsaparang had "a hell lying below its surface" because of its barrenness (Caraman: 1989: 44).
[46] Beckwith: 1993: 30. The original reference to the Tibetan occupation is in the Chinese records (Chavannes: 1903: 165).
[47] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9.

conflicts.[48] The above meagre historical information seems to suggest that Ladakh had a nominal role in the Yarlung dynasty's first attempt to conquer Central Asia.

3. 8th century historical events

In the early 8th century, the Yarlung dynasty resumed its expansion to the west. According to the Chinese historical sources, with passing mentions in Tibetan documents, the Tibetans established themselves in Great Balur and Little Balur during the first quarter of the 8th century. As the Tibetans were conspicuously absent from southern Xinjiang (i.e Khotan and near-by regions) in the early decades of the 8th century, the only viable route to the west for the Yarlung army would have been from Ladakh.[49] This suggests that Tibetan troops were moving through Baltistan and Gilgit in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan to gain foothold in the Pamir (map 2). Scholars have generally accepted Great Balur to refer to today's Baltistan, and Little Balur is identified with Gilgit,[50] although M. A. Stein demonstrated in his 1922 commentary on the 747 Chinese invasion of Balur that Little Balur should be identified with Yasin[51] (map 5; highlighted in green). The chronology of the historical references outlined below supports the geographical definition by Stein.

The first recorded submission to Tibet was that of Great Balur, which had paid tribute to China since 696, but was under Tibetan control by 722 at latest.[52] In 721,

---

[48] Beckwith: 1993: 54.
[49] The assumption that the Tibetan army used Ladakh as its starting point towards the west is made by Stein (1922) and by F.W.Thomas (1935:160). Besides the route connections from Ladakh to the west, the 719/720 census implies Ladakh's submission to Tibet, which presumably must have taken place at the latest just before 719, if not earlier.
[50] E.g. Thomas (1935; 1951), Petech (1977), Tucci (1956; 1977), Uray (1979: 283), Jettmar (1977; 1993).
[51] Stein: 1922: 128.
[52] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9.

envoys from the "Upper Region" paid homage to the Tibetan court.[53] In 722 Little Balur was occupied by the Tibetans, but they were defeated by the Chinese.[54] The Chinese sources mention several tens of thousands of Tibetans killed or captured[55] and although the figure of casualties seems to be exaggerated, it nevertheless indicates a large Tibetan presence in the region. This suggests that the Tibetans were concentrating their military efforts on Little Balur to force their way to the Pamir and ultimately to western Xinjiang. Thus the kingdom of Little Balur had a strategic location in Tibetan military plans, as did Great Balur, which was subjugated before Little Balur and must have therefore been *en route* to Little Balur. Balur had a strategic importance also to the Chinese, as the latter referred to it as the "Tang's Western Gate."[56]

Despite their defeat in Little Balur in 722, the Tibetans showed a continuing interest in the region and over a decade later, in the autumn or winter of 736, they marched into Turkistan via Little Balur.[57] Beckwith notes "later in 737 (winter) another Tibetan army entered Little Balur and captured its pro-Tang king," and by late 737, the whole of the Pamir region northwest of Little Balur had fallen to the Tibetans.[58] In 740 a Tibetan princess *Khri ma lod* was given in a marriage to the lord of *Bru*

---

[53] Petech: 1977: 9. While Petech refers to the "Upper Regions" as a general term for what is now Western Tibet, according to Uray (1979: 282) the "Upper Region" in the 8th century meant countries to the west of Tibet, and more specifically, the countries about the Pamir. Also Beckwith: 1993: 203-5.

[54] Chavannes 1903:150-1. After the Tibetan occupation the regent of Little Balur sought help from the Chinese to recover this strategically important location (Chavannes: 1903: fn. 365; Beckwith: 1993: 95).

[55] Beckwith: 1993:95. Pelliot: 1961: 99. Pelliot's account of the invasion is more detailed than Beckwith's. The Chinese loot consisted of arms, horses and sheep. They also recovered the ancient territory of Navapura ("neuf villes") from the Tibetans.

[56] Beckwith: 1993: 95; Chavannes: 1903: 150, fn. 5.

[57] Beckwith: 1993: 114. By Turkistan, Beckwith seems to be implying "Central Asia... somewhere west of the Pamirs". (*ibid.*)

[58] *Ibid.* 116, fn. 45: "The king of Bruźa, having been overthrown, paid homage [to Mes ag tshoms]...the Chinese abolished [their] administration [of Little Balûr?]..." Bacot et al (1940:50) translated the relevant passage as " ... les Chinois detruisirent le royame (bru-za)."

zha.[59] Despite the initial Tibetan success in Little Balur, the Tang army managed to re-capture the region in 747.[60]

Stein's identification of Little Balur with Yasin is also supported by linguistic evidence. The 740 marriage of a Tibetan princess to the lord of *Bru zha* [Brusha] gives the clearest indication of Little Balur's location.[61] The Tibetan word *Bru zha* is very similar to the word Burusho, which means the speakers of Burushaski. Burusho is the language spoken today in Yasin, Hunza and Nagar but *not in Gilgit*[62] (map 6; places highlighted in green). Furthermore, Burushaski is unrelated to any other language in the world, and the language spoken in Gilgit is Shina.[63] Thus the linguistic evidence for the word *Bru zha* points out to the areas *above* Gilgit, i. e. Yasin but not to actual Gilgit itself. Tibetan historical sources did not differentiate between Little Balur and Great Balur, as they only mentioned *Bru zha*.

If Little Balur is identified with Yasin, then it seems Great Balur denotes the actual Gilgit valley, a view supported by the fact that the Tibetans invaded it before Little Balur. The Gilgit valley is strategically placed regarding route connections to neighbouring areas, and beyond. Travelling north along the Gilgit River valley to Gakuch, there is a choice of routes towards the Pamir via two major sub-valleys, the Yasin valley and the Ishkoman valley[64] (map 5; route marked in red). To the north of Gakuch, the Yasin valley leads up to Darkot village, which is situated at

[59] Bacot et al: 1940: 51
[60] Beckwith: 1993: 132. Bacot et al: 1940: 62.
[61] Bacot et al. 1940: 51.
[62] Philip Denwood, 2. 5. 2003, personal communication. I am grateful to him for explaining the linguistic aspects of the word *Bru zha*.
[63] *ibid.* Denwood further notes that there was contact with the Tibetans and Burushaski, as there is a Burushaski version of the Tibetan Gesar Epic, though this is probably later.
[64] Tsuchiya: 1999: 355.

the junction where two routes meet: the eastern route from the Ishkoman valley, and the northern one via the Darkot Pass (map 7; highlighted in red).[65] The glacier covered Darkot Pass (4575 m.) leads to Baroghil Pass (3804 m.), which crosses the Wakhan corridor in the east. The Ishkoman valley route, to the north east of Gakuch has a route via its upper valley, Karambar and the Karambar Pass (4343m.) that leads to the Pamir (map 7; in red).[66]

Furthermore, the Gilgit River valley on its left bank has several sub valleys, which lead either towards Kashmir or to the west (map 8). The Gilgit valley was thus ideally located not only for military purposes, but also for trade and therefore, whoever controlled the Gilgit valley would have also benefited from the commercial use of the routes to Kashmir and to northern India, and to the west via Chitral. Great Balur's valuable products were gold and saffron (or turmeric); the latter was exported to the Tang Empire where it was in great demand.[67] Thus, it seems the country's importance to the Chinese and the Tibetans was not only strategic but also commercial. The ruling power of the region would have been in a position to levy substantial taxes on the exported and imported goods.

---

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Ibid.* 371. While the Ishkoman valley route is important because of its connection to Pamir, historically the Darkot Pass is better known. Tsuchiya (1998: 59) notes that the Karambar valley is the only route with a direct access to the Pamir without crossing a pass.

[67] The 8th century Chinese records note the production of the plant *yu-kin* (curcuma) or turmeric in Great Balur (Chavannes: 1903: 149-150). According to Schafer (1985: 185-86) turmeric was often confused with saffron and zedoary in Chinese trade. The collective name for the three in Chinese was *yu*-gold, which in Tang times was produced by Great Balur, Jaguda, Udyana (Swat) and Kashmir.The climate in Baltistan is too cold for cultivating saffron/turmeric but lower down in the Gilgit valley the climatic conditions would have been favourable. This also supports Great Balur's identification with the Gilgit valley rather than Baltistan. In addition to the Gilgit valley, it is possible saffron was exported from Kashmir to China. Thus the trade route from Kashmir via Gilgit would have been the most convenient to reach China.

After their defeat at the Talas River in 751 in the hands of the Qarluqs [a Turkic tribe] and the Arabs, the Chinese gradually lost their hold of the regions in the Pamir, although they invaded Great Balur in 753.[68] Soon after though the Tibetans seemed to have re-established their power in the Pamir, as in 756 Wakhan paid homage to the Tibetan court.[69] A Tibetan document, which detailed the re-establishment of the practise of Buddhism in Tibet, was written in *c.* 779 by the king *Khri srong lde brtsan* and its distribution included the country of *Bru zha.*[70] Not much is known about the activities of the Tibetans in the region for the rest of the 8th century, although they seemingly held positions there as in the early 9th century the Arabs captured Wakhan and Balur, and sent the captured Tibetan commander and cavalry men to Baghdad.[71] The Tibetan seizure of Khotan in 791-92 perhaps meant that the Pamir routes became less important to maintain connections with Xinjiang. Khotan's location on the Southern Silk Route ensured the Tibetans had control of the passing trade from the east to the west, and vice versa. In 842 the Tibetan empire collapsed and about a decade later its 200-year military power came to an end in Chinese Central Asia.

4. Conclusions

The historical events outlined above imply that Ladakh was involved in the Tibetan empire's expansionist foreign policy at the latest from the first quarter of the 8th century onwards, although it could have come under Tibetan rule towards the end

[68] Beckwith: 1993: 141. He adds not much is known about this campaign from historical sources.
[69] *Ibid.* 144-45.
[70] Richardson: 1998: 89-99.
[71] Beckwith: 1993: 162.

of the 7th century.[72] The 8th century evidence supports the view that Ladakh was drawn to the Tibetan military strategy in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan because of the routes leading through its territory to the west, and also ultimately towards Xinjiang in the east. Therefore, without the occupation of Ladakh, the Tibetans would not have been able to access the routes to Baltistan and Gilgit and conquer the region.

The extent of Ladakh's role in the above military scenario is not known: it could have supplied men and horses to the Tibetan army, but because of Ladakh's limited agricultural resources, the problem of feeding a large permanent number of men and horses would have arisen.[73] The situation would have been similar in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan and therefore to maintain their troops, the Tibetan supply lines must have been extremely well organized and thus controlling the routes would have been of paramount importance.

By virtue of its geographical location, Ladakh had access to a wide network of routes and it would have been in the interest of the occupying Tibetan force to ensure a smooth flow of trade in the region. While the available data supports the military function of the land routes during the 8th century in Baltistan and Gilgit, it is possible that the Tibetan occupation was also commercially motivated. Contrary to the view held by some scholars, Ladakh is certain to have received Tibetan

[72] See page 25 above for the reference to the possible conquest of Baltistan by '*Dus srong* in 677-704.

[73] This was the case in the 16th century, when the Central Asian Muslim soldier Mirza Haidar Doughlat invaded Ladakh in 1531, but had to leave because the country could not sustain a large army in winter (Ross and Elias: 1895: 419, 421). The army was 5000 in number, of which 1000 went to Baltistan and 4000 to Kashmir. The winter would have been the worst time to encamp in Ladakh—added to the lack of food and other supplies was the intense cold. Also, the Central Asian soldiers (and horses) would have been accustomed to different conditions of climate and altitude.

cultural influences, for example, Tibetan language at the latest during the Yarlung dynasty's occupation of the region, which began in the 8th century. However, the early 7th century reference of a Tibetan word *Mar sa* for Ladakh could imply that Tibetan was known in the region before its recorded invasion of the 8th century by the Yarlung dynasty.

Epigraphic evidence in Ladakh

Epigraphic documentation, in the form of rock inscriptions is commonly found in the Ladakhi region. Philip Denwood has analysed several Tibetan inscriptions on boulders near Alchi and the old bridge. According to him, Tibetan soldiers wrote the inscriptions between 760 and 840.[74] He notes the site had an obvious strategic position where troops could have been positioned against any invasion from the west, as they had a supply of water from the Indus and food from local settlements, and furthermore the ruins of an old fort and a bridge near the site would also imply its defensive capability in the past.[75]

A Tibetan inscription at Balukhar, which is situated three miles from Khalatse has been retranslated from A. H. Francke's 1905 original by Denwood, who dates it to the 8th-9th century[76] (map 1; "Khaltse", marked in red). According to Denwood, the inscription commemorates the building of a fort at Balukhar, which was modelled on some fort in the Khotan region, or built by some person associated with such forts.[77] Neil Howard has noted ruins of a fortification on the site but of a much later (late 16th-early 17th century) date. However, because of the strategic position the

[74] Denwood: 1980.
[75] *Ibid.* 163
[76] Denwood and Howard: 1990.
[77] *Ibid.* 85

site occupies – it is on a trade route from Kashmir to Xinjiang via Ladakh, and at a crossing point of the Indus – Howard thinks it is very likely that there was once an ancient fort and a bridge. The fort would have been used as a control post and collecting point for customs duties.[78] In summary, the Tibetan inscriptions found near Alchi and Khalatse clearly refer to military activity during the Yarlung dynasty, and it is possible especially in the case of Khalatse that its strategic position may have also been used for purposes of controlling trade activity. The proposed 8th-9th century date fits the Tibetan expansion in Xinjiang and especially Tibetan control of Khotan.[79]

Evidence pertaining to the presence of foreigners in Ladakh during the 9th-10th century also exists. Several rock-carvings of crosses and Sogdian inscriptions have been found near Drangtse (Tangtse)[80] (map 3, marked in red). Until the 10th century, Sogdians were actively involved with international trade across Central Asia and beyond, and consequently Sogdian was the *lingua franca* on Central Asian trade routes.[81] According to Sims-Williams, however, there is no direct reference to trade in the above epigraphic evidence, which was written by Buddhists, Christians and Manichaeans.[82] The longest Sogdian inscription near Tangtse is dated to *c.*840 AD, and was seemingly written by a Buddhist monk from Samarqand in Soghd, who was sent as a messenger to the qaghan of Tibet (map 9; highlighted in blue).[83] Thus there might have been a political reason for the monk's visit, and indeed, more

[78] *Ibid.* 86. The present bridge is a mile below Khalatse village.
[79] Tibetans controlled Khotan from *c.*791-92 until *c.*850 AD.
[80] Uray: 1983. The latest translation of the inscriptions is by Nicholas Sims-Williams (1993).
[81] De la Vaissière: 2002.
[82] Sims-Williams: 1993: 158. Sims-Williams also notes that the earlier Sogdian inscriptions of the Upper Indus, near Chilas, do not attest to Buddhism, Christianity or Manichaeism.
[83] Sims-Williams: 1993: 155

recently de la Vaissière has suggested the monk was on a diplomatic mission from Samarqand.[84]

According to de la Vaissière, the messengers arrived from the west, via the Gilgit route and were heading towards Central Tibet.[85] However, because of Tangtse's position on the Karakoram route, it is equally possible the travellers had arrived via Khotan. Tangtse is to the northeast of Chang-la, which is the first stage on the Changchenmo route from Leh via the Karakoram Pass to Khotan.[86] Tangtse is also on the southern routes to Chushul and Rudok, and to the east of Drangtse a road leads to the Pang gong Lake and ultimately to Central Tibet (map 3).

Arabic inscriptions dating to the third quarter of the 9th century or possibly later have also been found at Tangtse.[87] One of them reads "Ziyad, client of Hamid al-Basri" and according to Vohra, this indicates some sort of commercial connection.[88] He further argues that the personal names on the inscriptions have similarities to ones used in Arab Central Asia (presumably, in the 8th-9th century AD) although he does not explain his argument and thus it is possible that the Arabic inscriptions refer to a later period. The Karakoram route would have been the obvious choice to travel from Khotan to Tibet, and it was likely to have been chosen by those Sogdian merchants, who were in Khotan until the 10th century.[89]

---

[84] De la Vaissière: 2002: 310. De la Vaissière (*ibid.*) has rejected the hypothesis that the sender of the messenger may have been a Uygur Khan who needed help against the Turkish Qirghiz (as suggested by Sims-Williams 1993: 157).
[85] De la Vaissière: 2002: 311.
[86] Rizvi: 2001: 31.
[87] Vohra: 1995.
[88] *Ibid.* 426.
[89] De la Vaissière: 2002: 332.

The epigraphic evidence at Alchi and Balukhar clearly points to Tibetan occupation of the region during the 8th and 9th centuries, while the inscriptions at Tangtse attest to the presence of foreigners of different faiths from *c.*840 onwards, some of whom could have been merchants. In the context of historical events and geographical sources, Ladakh's military and commercial role in the Tibetan empire during the 8th - 10th centuries has been established. The epigraphic evidence supports this role and furthermore, if all the evidence is analysed together, it attests both to the Tibetanisation of Ladakh and to international contacts in the region well before the 10th century.

Islamic geographical sources

The role of Tibet in Muslim geography has not been extensively examined from the perspective of Tibetan studies.[90] One reason for this could be the language barrier, although many of the Muslim geographical records were translated into French and English during the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The Swedish explorer Sven Hedin made one of the first attempts to discuss Tibet in terms of Muslim geography in his *Southern Tibet* (1917). He was particularly interested in the geographical definitions pertaining to Tibet, its mountains and the sources of rivers as described by the Arab geographers. This interest in topographical detail reflects Hedin's own explorations and his attempts at mapping Tibet, a country largely unknown to the West in the early part of the 20th century. Hedin concluded that the Arab geographers had only had a very vague concept of Tibet.[91]

[90] The Muslim geographical tradition is different from the tradition of Arab historical writings, which mention Tibet in connection with the 8th century Tibetan military activity in the Pamirs and in the Tarim Basin. Beckwith (1989, 1993) has used the Arab historical sources extensively. Dunlop (1973) has given a summary of the Arab historical tradition regarding Tibet.
[91] Hedin: 1917:42.

Perhaps the most comprehensive study regarding Tibet's role in Muslim geography is by Luciano Petech, who published, "Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana" in 1947.[92] According to him, the Muslim geographers understood by T.b.t (Tubbat) East Turkestan, and more specifically Khotan.[93] Petech's work was critically assessed by Beckwith in his article, "The location and population of Tibet according to early Islamic sources,"[94] where Beckwith disagrees with Petech's view that Tibet implies Khotan in Muslim geographical sources. Beckwith's attempt to modernise some of the references to Tibet in Arab-Persian geography is the most recent in the field of Tibetan studies.

Scholars of Arab-Islamic material have published a small amount on Tibet's role in Muslim geography. W. Barthold included Tibet in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1913-1936 edition), where he discussed the country both in geographical and historical Muslim sources until the 17th century. According to Barthold, "the Arab geographers seem to have generally understood by Tubbat [Tibet], Little Tibet or Baltistan."[95] D. M. Dunlop's 1973 article, "Arab relations with Tibet", mainly discussed the Arab historical sources regarding Tibet, although he noted selected references to Tibet in Arab geographical literature. In the following an attempt will be made to discuss selectively Tibet's role in Islamic geographical material until the 13th century. The analysis will use Arabic sources, which have been translated into one of the European languages, and it will also incorporate and critically appraise previous findings on the subject.

---

[92] Republished in Petech: *Selected Papers on Asian History*, 1988, Is.M.E.O. Roma.
[93] In 1974 the Italian scholar Roberto Rubinacci published "Il Tibet nella Geografia d'Idrisi," where he analysed Tibet's location in the 12th century geography of al-Idrisi. Rubinacci concluded that in Idrisi's work Tibet means the Tarim Basin, and more specifically Kashgar.
[94] *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, Vol. XLIII (2-3), 1989, pp. 963-70.
[95] Barthold: 1987: 742.

1. Arab-Islamic geography

The phenomenon of Arab-Islamic geographical writing seems to have begun with the expansion of the Arab caliphate from the 8th century onwards. During the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-33 AD) Greek, Syriac and Indian astronomical and geographic works were rendered into Arabic, and were studied by astronomers in Baghdad, the centre of the caliphate.[96] By the middle of the 9th century, Arabic geographical literature began to appear in Baghdad and elsewhere.[97] The literature can be divided into two categories: the Iraqi School and the Balkhi School, where the first dealt with world geography and the second mainly with the geography of Islamic kingdoms.[98]

i. The Iraqi geographers (9th-10th century)

The geographer al-Ya'qubi completed his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Book of Countries) in *c.* 891, in which Tibet is noted for its trade in musk.[99] The musk was imported into Tibet from a place called Dhu Samt, which was a two-month's journey from Tibet and ultimately reached Khorasan, eastern Iran (map 15).[100] Traders from Khorasan bought the musk traded in Sogdh [Sogdiana] in Tibet and the musk was then carried on the backs of men to Khorasan, whence it was exported to all parts of the world.[101] Ya'qubi further commented that Indian musk was actually musk from Tibet, and it was exported by sea from Daybul in India.[102] This may be one of the

---

[96] Ahmad: 2000: 205.
[97] Ahmad: 1995: 58.
[98] *Ibid.* The Balkhi School of geography was founded in Khorasan in the first half of the 10th century (*ibid.* 74).
[99] Translation into French by Gaston Wiet (1937).
[100] Wiet: 1937: 234-235. Stang (1990: 159-160) thought Dhu Samt (or Twsmt) referred to Lower Amdo, in the north east of Tibet. Minorsky (1982: 259) was inclined to place it in the west or south west of Khotan.
[101] Wiet: 1937: 236.
[102] *Ibid.* 235. Daybul is situated in the province of Sind on the western coast of India.

earliest descriptions of the musk trade between Tibet and the outside world, and seemingly indicates the use of both a land and a sea route in this export trade.

Ya'qubi also noted a route leading to Tibet, which could have been used for the transportation of the musk. The route began at Jirm, which is described as the last of the towns east of Balkh in the direction of Tibet.[103] Jirm (Jorm) is in Badakshan, situated near the Dorah Pass (4554m.) in Chitral (map 6; Dorah Pass marked in red, Jirm denoted with a red dot; map 9, "Jerm" in red), east of which are Yasin and Gilgit. From Jirm, the traders could have taken the route via the Dorah Pass or, they could have travelled via the Wakhan valley, by turning east from Zebak (map 6; marked in red). Whichever of the two routes was chosen, it would have taken the traders to today's Northern Areas of Pakistan. Rather than marching to Central Tibet and back, which would have entailed months of journeying in difficult conditions, it is more likely that the foreign traders met their Tibetan counterparts in a location closer to the route that went through the Northern Areas. While Tibet is specified in the text as the place of purchase for the musk, in this instance Tibet could, in fact, imply Ladakh. The latter's geographical location would have made it convenient for the merchants arriving from the west to purchase the musk.[104] Ya'qubi's detailed discussion of aspects of the Tibetan musk trade suggests accurate information received from the merchants, perhaps during the author's

[103] Dunlop: 1973: 305. Wiet: 1937: 102.

[104] Desideri, in his early 18th century travel account, wrote about the musk deer in Ladakh (see page 21 in this chapter). Stein (1989: iv: fn. 170) noted the musk deer found on the high plateaus to the north and east of Kashmir. Thus it is possible that some of the Tibetan musk could, in fact, have been from Ladakhi region.

travels in Khorasan.[105] Therefore, the references to the musk trade with Tibet may be considered to pertain to the 9th century.

The early 10th century Iraqi geographers Ibn Rustah, Ibn al-Faqīh and al-Mas'ūdī merely repeat previously written information about Tibet. Thus, they mention Jirm in Badakshan as the frontier post on the road to Tibet.[106] Ibn al-Faqīh noted musk and leather shields as special products of Tibet.[107] Al-Mas'ūdī also discussed Tibetan musk and noted its superiority to Chinese musk.[108] He recounted meeting several people in Khorasan, who had travelled from Sogdiana to Tibet and China, passing the sal-ammoniac mountains on their way.[109] This is reminiscent of Ya'qubi's account of the Tibetan musk trade with Sogdiana. Al-Mas'ūdī's definition of the actual borders of Tibet is vague; he states merely that the country touched China and India, Khorasan and the steppes of the Turks.[110] The description of Tibet's border with Khorasan and the Turks is likely to refer to the early 9th century, when the Yarlung dynasty held power in Xinjiang.

We may therefore conclude that the Iraqi geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries knew of Tibet, although their information was fragmented, especially regarding the country's borders. The authors referred to the post of Badakshan (Jirm/Jorm) as representing the beginning of the route to Tibet. Judging by the lack of any detailed information about the countries laying behind Badakshan, the latter was likely to

[105] According to Ahmad (1995: 60), Ya'qubi claimed to have travelled a great deal and collected information from the original sources.
[106] De Goeje: Ibn Rustah, 1867 (vol. 7), 288; De Goeje: Ibn al-Faqīh, 1885 (vol. 5), 322. Dunlop: 1973: 309. I am grateful to Rima Sabbagh for checking the original Arabic text in the above de Goeje's volumes 5 and 7.
[107] Dunlop: 1973: 303. Massé: 1973: 308.
[108] Pellat: 1962: 234. According to the text, the Chinese musk came from the region next to where Tibetan musk was found. The best musk was kept for the kings of Tibet and seldom exported.
[109] *Ibid.* 142
[110] *Ibid.* 143.

have signalled the end of Islamic regions. The geographers' particular interest in trade meant that merchants formed an important source of information about different countries and their products. Thus, in the Iraqi accounts of Tibet, the information on its musk trade is the most specific and frequent. Musk was a luxury product, and therefore the profits derived from its sale would have far outweighed the difficult and long journey involved in obtaining it. Ya'qubi's lengthy description of its purchase and export suggests knowledge gained from contemporary commercial sources rather than from repetition of old data.

Assuming the merchants provided the information about musk, they must also have described the land routes to Tibet from the west. Therefore the route from Badakshan via today's Northern Areas of Pakistan towards Tibet is likely to have functioned as an important trade artery. There is a Tibetan inscription and carving of a stupa on a rock on the ascent to Darkot Pass which according to Denwood date from the time of the Tibetan occupation, i.e. between 745 and 747, between 750s and 815 or between 820 and 850s.[111] Denwood has also suggested that the stupa could have been carved by a passing Tibetan trader.[112] We may surmise it would have been of great commercial importance to keep the routes in the Northern Areas safe and passable to merchants. In the above travel itinerary, while the route from the west to Tibet is included, there is no mention of the Khotan-Tibet route. According to de la Vaissière, the Sogdians were involved in the trade of musk from the 4th century AD,[113] and therefore it seems likely the merchants from Khorasan mentioned by Ya'qubi were Sogdians. De la Vaissière has commented on the impossibility of camel transport in the Upper Indus region, due to lack of pasture

[111] Denwood: 2007: 49-50.
[112] *Ibid.* 50.
[113] De la Vaissière: 2002: 171.

and difficult travel conditions and hence the merchants carried goods on their backs,[114] as described by Ya'qubi.

ii. The Balkhi School of geographers

The Balkhi School of geographers are noted for their emphasis on Islamic regions, and as a consequence most of them omitted Tibet from their writings. However, the 10th century geographer Ibn Hauqal discussed Tibetan musk (under the region of Khorasan), in which he stated that great quantities of the product arrived in Badakshan via Wakhan[115] (maps 5 and 6; marked in red). This author also described Tibet as "a short distance away from the infidel Wakhan."[116]

The earlier pattern of Arabic geography seems to be repeating itself in Ibn Hauqal's account, where the lack of topographical detail about Tibet is compensated for by information on the musk trade. However, the observations of the short distance between Wakhan and Tibet, and the arrival of Tibetan musk *via Wakhan* to Badakshan are significant, as the latter implies that the merchants were not travelling back via the Dorah Pass but chose instead to use one of the passes from Yasin to arrive at Wakhan. One possible route to the Wakhan corridor from the Northern Areas was via the Darkot Pass (4575m.) and the Baroghil Pass (3804 m.). The glacier covered Darkot Pass, however would have been difficult to cross, and

---

[114] *Ibid.*186.

[115] Kramers and Wiet: 1964: 435. Tibetan musk was imported to Transoxiana whence it was exported to other countries (unspecified in the text). The produce was known for its superiority in quality and price (*ibid.* 447). The 10th century geographer Al-Istakhrī also noted that Tibetan musk reached Badakshan via Wakhan (Dunlop: 1973: 305. De Goeje: 1870 (vol. 1): 297). I am grateful to Rima Sabbagh for checking the Arabic original in de Goeje's volume 1.

[116] Kramers and Wiet: 1964: 458.

the traders may have chosen one of the many smaller passes that connect Yasin with the Wakhan corridor (maps 5 and 7).[117]

The Iraqi School geographers described the route from Badakshan via the Northern Areas of Pakistan towards Tibet, which began at Jirm and could have implied two routes, one via the Dorah Pass and the other via the Wakhan corridor.[118] The importance placed by the Balkhi School on the regions under Islam could partly explain the lack of detail regarding Tibet's geographical location. Significantly though, Tibetan musk was included in the majority of Balkhi School writings, thereby indicating that the trade in musk continued between Tibet and the Muslim regions in the west.

2. Other geographers: al-Maqdisī

Outside the Iraqi and Balkhi Schools of geographers, there were contemporary writers in other Islamic regions (for example, in Khorasan) some of whom wrote geographical works in Persian for the first time.[119] Beckwith has commented on the 10th century work of Mutahhar b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī.[120] Al-Maqdisī described the location of Tibet as follows: "...to its east is the Chinese, its north the Turks, its west Wakhan and Rast - the highest part of Khurasan - and to its south Kashmir; and the greatest of its cities is Khotan."[121] Further on, al-Maqdisī writes: "East of

[117] Results of recent fieldwork by a Japanese research team suggest that the Darkot Pass was not frequently used and was even feared by the locals because of its harsh travelling conditions (Tsuchiya: 1999: 355-56).
[118] See pages 40-41 in this chapter.
[119] Ahmad: 1995: 102.
[120] Beckwith: 1989. Al-Maqdisī wrote in Bust, in southern Afghanistan in 966 (*ibid.* 166).
[121] *Ibid*: 166: fn. 12. I am grateful to Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Nasser D. Khalili Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture, SOAS, London, for checking the original Arabic text in Huart (1899-1919, Vol. IV).

Kashmir are Khotan and Tibet and the Chinese; (to) its south is the kingdom of Kur; (to) its north are Balur and Wakhan; and (to) its west are Kabul and Ghazni."[122] According to Beckwith, al-Maqdisī was unusually interested in Kashmir, and had substituted "Kashmir" for "India" in the first citation. [123] In what follows Beckwith's argument is examined in detail.

As has been demonstrated above, the Muslim geographers did have a general knowledge of Tibet's location, and especially of its westernmost part, which was probably due to information on the trade routes through today's Northern Areas of Pakistan. Certainly by the time al-Maqdisī completed of his work in 966 the location of Tibet was established in Muslim geographical literature. Furthermore, Muslim knowledge of India was well established by the 10th century, as many of the geographers had travelled in the subcontinent.

Al-Maqdisī's "unusual interest" (to quote Beckwith) in Kashmir could actually imply that he knew in detail the locations of the countries surrounding it. By writing that to the south of Tibet lies Kashmir, the author might be implying in the term "Tibet", only its westernmost part, namely, Ladakh, rather than having substituted Kashmir for India, since the only part of Tibet with southern access to Kashmir is Ladakh.[124] The historically known Zoji-pass (3450 m.) connects the region directly with Kashmir, and in the past, the pass was open for foot passengers throughout the year, and for animal transport from March until November.[125] After

[122] Beckwith: 1989:167.
[123] *Ibid.* 166.
[124] The 17th century Portuguese d'Almeida also described Tibet's location as beyond Kashmir (Petech: 1999: 174).
[125] Rizvi (1996: 18) notes that as the snow stops cars crossing the pass, it remains closed for modern travellers for at least six months a year.

the Zoji-pass, the route towards Leh crossed the Dras plateau and continued via Kargil to the Indus River[126] (map 2; marked in red). Once Leh was reached, a further connection could be made to southern Xinjiang or Central Tibet.

Al-Maqdisī also stated that to the west of Tibet lies Wakhan, and again here Tibet seems to denote Ladakh. Wakhan had appeared in the Balkhi School of geographical writings, where it was described as a short distance from Tibet,[127] and also as a region via which Tibetan musk reached Badakshan. In al-Maqdisī's second citation above, in addition to Wakhan, Balur is also placed to the north of Kashmir. If Balur is understood to be the Gilgit valley region, al-Maqdisī clearly treated it separately from Tibet. Al-Maqdisī's reference to Balur is significant, as the Iraqi or Balkhi geographers did not mention the region, either because Balur was understood to be under the control of Tibet or al-Maqdisī's information was contemporary with his writing, i.e. *c.* mid-10th century, by which time Tibet no longer ruled the region. The author's inclusion of Balur may have stemmed from his interest in Kashmir, as the two regions were geographically close to each other.

According to Beckwith, "al-Maqdisī was writing in 966, at a time when the Western Tibetan kingdom of Guge was the only notable Tibetan successor-state accessible from the south or southwest."[128] This statement needs geographical clarification. The routes leading from the south to Guge in western Tibet were principally from Himachal Pradesh, not directly from Kashmir (map 10), and thus Beckwith suggests that al-Maqdisī in describing Tibet's location substituted

[126] *Ibid.* 19-20.
[127] See Ibn Hauqal's description on page 43 in this chapter.
[128] Beckwith: 1989: 166.

Kashmir for India "even when it does not make much sense to do so"[129]. However, al-Maqdisī did place Balur and Wakhan correctly to the north of Kashmir, thereby strongly suggesting that he was familiar with the topography of Kashmir. Thus it is possible that al-Maqdisī had information on the route from Ladakh to the south (Kashmir) via the Zoji-pass. This would appear to imply established trade links connecting Kashmir with Ladakh around the mid-10th century.

The description of the location of Wakhan (and Rast) to the west of Tibet (Ladakh) can be understood as approximately correct, especially if Baltistan was assumed to be part of Ladakh. By listing Balur separately, the author implied it was independent from Tibet/Ladakh. Al-Maqdisī's information on Khotan is confused, as it refers both to a 9th century and contemporary 10th century political situation, the latter possibly derived from merchant sources. However, by analysing al-Maqdisī's geographical references above, it seems that his information was collected from people who were well acquainted with Kashmir and with its immediate neighbours.

3. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*

The anonymous 10th century Persian geographical treatise, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, or *The Regions of the World*, was translated from Persian into English and extensively commented on by V. Minorsky in 1937.[130] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* was compiled in 982 AD, and the information in the treatise was borrowed from both earlier and contemporary geographical sources. In his commentary on the *Hudūd*, Minorsky

[129] *Ibid.* 166; fn. 12.
[130] The second edition with Addenda by Minorsky was published in 1970, and reprinted in 1982. In the following analysis, the 1982 edition is used.

has shown that the main sources for compiling the text were the works of Ibn Khurdādbih (*c.* 820-*c.* 912),[131] al-Jayhāni[132] and al-Istakhrī (d. *c.*950) in addition to intelligence information and a map, which the author of the *Hudūd* had prepared.[133] Despite incorporating work by earlier authors, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* includes material that cannot be found in other Islamic geographical sources.[134] W. Barthold remarked that despite the Muslim world forming the majority of the country descriptions contained in the treatise, it also gives the non-Muslim world greater consideration than the Arab geographers.[135] Minorsky's commentary on thousands of place names in the *Hudūd* has remained largely unchallenged and his work can be regarded as an outstanding contribution to early Muslim geography. In the following analysis, the description of Tibet in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and its commentary by Minorsky will be selectively examined. In addition, place names outside but relevant to Tibet will also be taken into consideration.

According to Minorsky, "the present curious chapter on Tibet has no parallel in the known works of Arab geographers."[136] Chapter 11 or "Discourse on the Country of Tibet and its Towns" begins with the description of the location of Tibet: "East of it are some parts of Chinistan; south of it, Hindustan; west of it, some of the Marches of Transoxiana and some of the Khallukh; north of it, some parts of the Khallukh

---

[131] Minorsky 1962: 193. Ibn Khurdādbih was an Iraqi geographer, who was also a high official in charge of the postal service. The original text has survived only in an abridged form: Ibn Khurdādbih: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (edited by de Goeje, 1967, 2nd edition).

[132] Al-Jayhāni was a 10th century Samanid wazir, whose lost geographical work *Book of Routes and Kingdoms,* is thought to have influenced other geographers. Minorsky (1962:193) points out that, according to Muqaddasi, al-Jayhāni incorporated the whole of the original work of Ibn Khurdādbih in addition to his own information.

[133] *Ibid.*193-94. The map is no longer extant.

[134] W. Barthold's preface to *Hudūd al-'Ālam.*

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] Minorsky 1982: 255. Minorsky thought the author's data was mainly derived from a source (perhaps Jayhāni) used also by the 11th century Persian geographer Gardizi.

and Toghuzghuz."[137] As Minorsky notes, the regions to the west of Tibet refer to a period earlier than the 10th century, when Tibet had established its power in the western part of Central Asia.[138] In Muslim geography, the Toghuzghuz usually denotes the later Uygur kingdom (*c.*860-13th century) in eastern Tienshan (maps 15 and 17), and the term Uygur is substituted for the antiquated Toghuzghuz in the 11th century.[139] The text lists Wakhan and Badakshan as belonging to the easternmost marches of Transoxiana, parts of which belonged to Tibet.[140] Thus the above references to the Toghuzghuz, Wakhan and Badakshan suggest a 9th century period when the Tibetans controlled the region to the west of Ladakh, i. e. today's Northern Areas of Pakistan.

The people of Tibet are noted as idolaters, thereby implying Buddhism and the country is described as cultivated and populous, but with few commodities.[141] Somewhat contradictorily the account of the produce of Tibet is referred to as varied: "Everything Indian is imported into Tibet and from Tibet re-exported to Muslim countries. There are goldmines in Tibet, and from it come much musk, black foxes, grey squirrels, sable-martens, ermine, and horns. It is a place of few amenities."[142] In Arabic geographical sources only musk and shields were noted as products from Tibet, and the various items listed above could imply several well-informed sources, which were likely to have been merchants. The reference to

[137] *Ibid.* 92. In the Appendix to the 1st edition, Minorsky notes the reference to Khallukh which is connected with chapter 25, 58., in which Tibet refers to western Tienshan. According to Minorsky, the use of the term Tibet points to the 8th century expansion of Tibet (*ibid.* 482). The name "Khallukh" was used in Arab literature and refers to the Turkic tribe Qarluqs. It is likely the above text refers to a branch of the tribe to the south of the Oxus in Upper Tokharistan (*ibid.* 287-88) (see map 9).
[138] *Ibid.* 256.
[139] *Ibid.* 265.
[140] *Ibid.* 359-70. The borders for the eastern marches of Transoxiana were Tibet and Hindustan (*ibid.* 119).
[141] *Ibid.* 92. The reference to few commodities could imply a lack of domestically produced goods.
[142] *Ibid.* 92 (Chapter 11).

SOAS LIBRARY LONDON UNIV.

Indian goods being re-exported from Tibet to Muslim countries is so specific that it must be accurate, and seemingly suggests Tibetan involvement in inter-regional and international trade.

The description of "everything Indian" exported to Tibet also suggests goods that were recognised as specifically Indian. Such produce would have included spices and different types of textiles, which were of high commercial value and also relatively easy to transport. It is likely that these products intended for further export were luxury goods, as they would have had a higher profit margin, which would have been set against the costs incurred in transporting the goods over long distances. Tibet's role of re-exporting Indian goods suggests an entrepôt in Tibetan territory, which would have been situated at a geographically convenient location, both for India and for forwarding the goods to Muslim countries. The majority of Islamic countries prior to 11th century was to the west of Tibet, and the location of an intermediate trading point would therefore had to have been relatively close to the modern Northern Areas of Pakistan, as that area had routes leading to Muslim regions. Ladakh's geographical position would fit the role of an entrepôt for Indian (and other) goods destined for the Islamic world via the Northern Areas. Thus, products from Central India and the Ganges Valley were likely to have been transported to the west via Ladakh through Kulu and its passes (map 10).[143]

In the Arab geographies, the main route connections from the west to Tibet were established to be from Badakshan. From Tibet the route led to Badakshan via Wakhan. In the *Hudūd,* Badakshan is also described as a resort of merchants, where

[143] I am grateful to Neil Howard for discussing the Kulu route to Ladakh with me.

musk is imported from Tibet.[144] Immediately after Badakshan, the place *Dar-i Tāziyān* ("The Gate of the Arabs") is described as lying in a defile between two mountains, where there is a gate through which the caravans go.[145] Minorsky suggested the gate could have been situated between Jirm (Jorm/Jerm) and Zaybak (Zebak), so as to intercept the traffic coming from Wakhan and neighbouring regions of Chitral, Gilgit and Kashgar[146] (maps 2, 5 and 6; marked in red). In Arabic sources, Jirm's location is quite clearly described as the last post, thereby consistent with its position as the final Muslim town before the beginning of the infidel regions. The gate may have been built both for military and commercial purposes. Militarily it would have acted as a defence post and commercially as a convenient point for collecting duties on passing merchandise.

The village of *Dar-i Tubbat*, or Gate of Tibet was situated on the borders of Wakhan where Muslims levied tolls and guarded the road (map 9).[147] Minorsky thought the Gate of Tibet could "very possibly" be another aspect of the Gate of the Arabs, but he did not rule out the possibility of two different gates, and suggested the former could have been situated between Zaybak (Zebak) and Ishkashim[148] (maps 5, 6 and 9; marked in red). If the Tibetan Gate was situated near the town of Ishkashim (map 9), to the east of the Gate began a non-Muslim territory, as Ishkashim, Khandut and Samarqandaq had infidel Vakhis living there (map 5).[149] In addition, a few Tibetans lived in and occupied a fortress in Khandut, which also

---

[144] Minorsky: 1982: 112. Badakshan is listed under "Discourse on the region of Khorasanian Marches."
[145] *Ibid.* The text further specifies that the gate was made as a barrier by the caliph Ma'mūn, who was appointed a governor of the region in 811-12.
[146] *Ibid.* 350. Presumably Minorsky implied the route across the Pamir by including Kashgar as one of the territories neighbouring Wakhan.
[147] *Ibid.* 120.
[148] *Ibid.* 365.
[149] *Ibid.* 121.

had a stone statue of the Buddha, thus suggesting the practice of Buddhism.[150] Samarqandaq was a large village with a population of Indians, Tibetans, Vakhis and Muslims, and Minorsky placed it in present day Sarhad, which is situated opposite the Baroghil Pass[151] (map 5). Therefore, from the Gate of Tibet the route seemed to lead through the Wakhan corridor towards the Baroghil Pass. The above reference to Muslims levying a toll suggests the gate acted as a convenient point for collecting tax from merchants, but also separating the Muslim region from that of the infidels. Thus, it seems the Tibetan Gate was situated nearer Ishkashim rather than further to the east as drawn in map 9.

Tibetan records also mention a gate in the westernmost part of the empire. During the reign of *Khri gtsug lde brtsan* (815-838) the western limits of the Tibetan empire were said to have reached "the border with the Arabs, the great 'shell' gate of Badakshan (*sBa stag sha*)."[152] This seems to refer to *Dar-i Tāziyān* in the Hudūd, since the Tibetan records mention Badakshan as the gate's location rather than Wakhan (map 9). The above suggests that today's Northern Areas of Pakistan were still occupied by the Tibetans in the first quarter of the 9th century, and by implication Ladakh must have also been under the Tibetan rule. The gate in Badakshan is likely to have functioned as an important commercial post, earning both the Arabs and the Tibetans income from taxing passing merchants.

In what follows, the place names in Tibet will be selectively analysed, where the order of places follows the translation of the Persian text. After a general discussion

[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Ibid.* 369 Minorsky suggested Samarqandaq could have had commercial importance because of its mixed population.
[152] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9.

on Tibet, the first place described is a poor province of Rang-Rong, where people live in tents and their wealth is sheep.[153] The country is a month's journey long and the same across and on its mountains there are reportedly gold mines.[154] Minorsky thought Rang-Rong might be in the south east or east of Tibet,[155] but Beckwith has demonstrated on linguistic grounds that Rang-Rong is Zhangzhung in western Tibet.[156] The region is well known for its gold fields, and the above description of its inhabitants would fit a nomad population. The gold fields are also mentioned above in connection with the produce of Tibet.

After Rang-Rong, Bolorian Tibet is described as "a province of Tibet adjoining the confines of Bolor. The people are chiefly merchants and live in tents and felt-huts. The country is 15 days' journey long and 15 days' journey wide."[157] The dwelling habit of the people could imply they were nomad Turks. According to Minorsky, Bolorian Tibet corresponds to Great Bolor, i.e. Baltistan.[158] This statement contradicts the above description of Bolorian Tibet *adjoining the confines of Bolor.* Furthermore, Minorsky has accepted separate identities for Bolorian Tibet and Bolor elsewehere in the *Hudūd,* where he equates Bolorian Tibet with Baltistan, and Bolor (following Ross and Elias) with today's Northern Areas of Pakistan.[159]

---

[153] Minorsky: 1982: 92.
[154] *Ibid.* 92-3.
[155] *Ibid.* 257.
[156] Beckwith: 1989: 168.
[157] Minorsky: 1982: 93.
[158] *Ibid.* 258.
[159] *Ibid.* 369. Referring to the above description of Bolorian Tibet in the *Hudūd,* Petech (1977: 12) understood Bolorian Tibet to include Baltistan and Ladakh. Confusingly, in the map that accompanies the commentary on Tibet, Bolorian Tibet seems to imply Ladakh (Minorsky: 1982: 261, map IV).

The third place listed is a wealthy country of Tibet called N.zvan (?), with many commodities.[160] N.zvan appears also under the section of mountains and mines, where the mountain Manisa is said to turn westwards from Rang-Rong, "and goes between China and the country Nazvan belonging to Tibet in a north-western direction up to the farthest limit of Tibet."[161] Minorsky suggested that N.zvan, despite its uncertain reading could be geographically identified with the Kokonor and Tsaidam.[162] More recently, Denwood has suggested that N.zvan could be a conceivable rendering of Nubra, and its location, which is given as northwest of Zhangzhung and bordering Chinese territory (Khotanese territory) would correspond to the Rudok/Nubra area[163] (maps 1 and 2).

The text continues: "In this country [N.zvan] there is a tribe called Mayul [sic] from which the kings of Tibet come. In (this province) two small villages are found of which the one is called N.zvan and the other Muyul [sic]. It is a place of few amenities but has numerous commodities, such as gold, furs, sheep, and (many other) commodities and implements."[164]

Minorsky mentions the possibility of Mayul denoting Ladakh in his commentary, but was advised that Mayul had nothing to do with Mar-yul, but instead Mayul denoted "mother country." [165] Nevertheless, in the following remarks, the assumption that Mayul implied Ladakh will be examined. Firstly, linguistically Mayul is very close to *Mar yul*, an old designation for Ladakh. On geographical grounds, the author of the *Hudūd* seems to have begun his description in the west of

[160] Minorsky: 1982: 93.
[161] *Ibid.* 61.
[162] *Ibid.* 258.
[163] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9.
[164] Minorsky: 1982: 93.
[165] Minorsky (*ibid*: 256, 258) cited Ross and Elias's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* where Maryul denotes Ladakh.

Tibet with Zhangzhung and Baltistan, and Ladakh is situated also in western Tibet, approximately between the two regions. Notably, the text clearly places these three regions separately but belonging to Tibet.

The reference to numerous commodities in N.zvan and Mayul is significant, as it implies commerce and merchants. N.zvan, which could imply the Nubra/Rudok region, is also described as wealthy, perhaps because of its connections with trade. The text also seems to refer to a lack of basic facilities in the region, and if merchants had provided the above information, then we might infer difficult travel conditions and sparsely populated areas. Mayul is mentioned twice in the text: firstly as a tribe and secondly as a small village (Muyul). This could be a mistake on the part of the scribe, as Mayul and Muyul are likely to be the same name.[166]

According to the Chinese historical records *Song-che*, the Tibetan king of *Tsong-ka* (around Xining east of the Kokonor; map 14) was invited there in 1008 from "Wou-san-mi" also known as "Kao-tch'ang Mo-yu," which was said to be far to the west.[167] The late French scholar R. A. Stein, who studied ancient Tibetan and Chinese historical sources extensively, suggested that "Mo-yu" implied *Mar yul*.[168] This might indirectly confirm that Muyul or Mayul in the *Hudūd* was an origin of people of Tibetan royal blood.[169] The Persian text clearly refers to Mayul as a tribe from which come the kings of Tibet. Stein commented that the Tibetans in the east

[166] I would like to thank Maryam Mafi, London, for checking the Persian text for me.
[167] Stein: 1959: 230-31. I am grateful to Philip Denwood for this reference.
[168] *Ibid*: 231. Stein: 1998: 71.
[169] Stein: 1959: 230-31. Denwood: 2005a: 36. Stein did not mention the possible connection between Mo-yu and Muyul/Mayul in the *Hudūd*. Beckwith (1989: 168) thought Mayul/Muyul might possibly be Mabūd, an Arabicized transcription of Sanskrit Mahābhuta, "Great Tibet." This does not really make sense in the context where the author of the *Hudūd* is clearly describing places in Tibet rather than Tibet as a whole.

(Amdo; map 14) looked for their king in the west, as they wanted an authentic descendant of the Yarlung dynasty.[170] Thus it could be that Ladakh had an ancient tradition of supplying rulers to the eastern kingdoms. As Denwood has noted, the descendants of the royal line had emigrated to western Tibet after the collapse of the Yarlung dynasty around the middle of the 9th century.[171]

Of all the geographical works analysed, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is the only source that gives a detailed description of the toponyms in Tibet. Minorsky has noted that the exact time period to which the description of Tibet in the treatise refers is not straightforward to determine, partly because the author compiled his data from several sources. Thus the information on the western and northern borders of Tibet is contradictory and seems drawn from various informants, and consequently from different time periods. For example, the western border of Tibet is defined to stretch as far as the easternmost marches of Transoxiana (map 9; Transoxiana includes Soghd and Khuttal, and the regions between them), and thus refers to the Tibetan occupation of the modern Northern Areas in the 8th and early to mid-9th centuries.

However, while Bolorian Tibet (Baltistan) is defined as part of Tibet, *Bolor is not.*[172] Therefore, the implication is that Baltistan was the western border of Tibet, while the reference to the Bulūrīn-shah (of Bolor) indicates an independent ruler, and thus is likely to refer to a situation after 850, when the Tibetans had lost control of Bolor.[173] Thus there are seemingly two different time periods for the western

[170] Stein: 1959: 231. Stein: 1998: 71.
[171] Denwood: 2005a: 36.
[172] Minorsky: 1982: 93, 258, 121.
[173] *Ibid.* 121,369-70.

border. The northern border of Tibet is defined according to historical data, which places Turks in the Tarim Basin, and could thus be anytime between the 8th and 9th centuries. However, the detailed information about Tibetan toponyms and products, especially in western Tibet, suggests up-to-date knowledge. It is therefore likely that merchants supplied the information, which could, partly at least, date from the 10th century. The traders seemingly knew about westernmost Tibet because of the region's commercial activity and its route connections.

4. Al-Bīrūnī

Al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) was a scientist and geographer, who worked for the Ghaznavid court.[174] He is still known today for his work translated into English as *Albêrunî's India*, which discusses the geography and the customs of India. The references to Tibet are meagre, but of interest is the route from Kanoj to Benares, and thence eastward as far as Kamroop, whence it continued northward to Nepal and the Tibetan frontier.[175] This route would clearly have led to southern and Central Tibet and al-Bīrūnī is likely to have received information about it from Indian traders. In contrast to the earlier Arab geographical writers, he did not mention the route from Tibet towards the west, which could imply an unsettled situation in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan.

In his description of Kashmir, al-Bīrūnī noted the kingdoms of the Bolar-Shah, and the Shugnan-Shah to the west of Kashmir.[176] The more remote parts up to the frontiers of Badakshan he ascribed to the Wakhan-Shah. These references seem to

[174] The Ghaznavids were a Turko-Islamic dynasty (977-1186). Their art will be discussed in chapter III.
[175] Sachau: 2002 (reprint of the 1888 original): 735.
[176] *Ibid.* 193. The title is written as "Bolar-Shah" in the text by Sachau, and seems to imply Bolor- (or Bulūrīn) shah.

imply independent Northern Areas, which were free from Tibetan control. Furthermore, according to al-Bīrūnī, the north and part of the east of the country [Kashmir] belonged to the Turks of Khotan and Tibet.[177] While he did not discuss the Turks occupying northern and eastern parts of Kashmir in any detail, he did refer to the Turkish tribes called *Bhaṭṭavāryan*, who lived in Gilgit, Aswira and Shiltas, i. e. in the modern Northern Areas of Pakistan[178] (map 6). *Bhaṭṭavāryan* is a Sanskrit word, where *Bhaṭṭa* means "lord" or "master" and *vāryan* implies "best" or "chosen", and thus it would be an appropriate name for a dynasty.[179] According to al-Bīrūnī, these Turkish tribes had a king with the title Bhaṭṭa-Shah and their language was Turkish, and furthermore they raided Kashmir.[180]

In another work, al-Bīrūnī's reference to a route from Khotan to the residence of the Khakan (qaghan) describes difficult breathing on this route, thus implying the high altitude Karakoram Pass, which the Tibetan called a "poison mountain" (map 2; marked in red).[181] The Karakoram Pass (5578 m.) leads to Ladakh or western Tibet, and thus the residence of the Khakan implies Tibet.[182] The possible implications of al-Bīrūnī's references to the Turkish presence in the Northern Areas of Pakistan on Ladakh and western Tibet will be discussed in chapter IV in connection with the 11th century historical events in the region.

---

[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Ibid.* 195.
[179] *Bhaṭṭa* is known in Buddhist Sanskrit – cf. *bhaṭṭāraka*, which is Tibetan *rje btsun* ("lord"). Philip Denwood, personal communication.
[180] Sachau: 2002: 195.
[181] Sachau: 1879: 263. Al-Bīrūnī wrote the work in 1000 AD and it is translated as *The Chronology of Ancient Nations.*
[182] Golden (2003a: 84) notes that in the Türk inscriptions of the Orkhon [7th-8th century], the Turkic title qagan was given to the rulers of Tibet (Tüpüt Qağan) and China.

Conclusions

Information about Tibet in the 9th-10th century Arab geographical sources broadly identifies the location of Tibet, but does not include any detailed topography about the country. The criteria according to which the Muslim geographers compiled their texts focused on trade and products, and therefore these are the aspects of Tibet that are consistently described. Thus, Tibetan musk was clearly identified as the country's main export, and the route through the Northern Areas of Pakistan is frequently mentioned in connection with its trade.

It appears that in their discussions of Tibet both the Arab and Persian geographers were actually referring to Ladakh, on account of its geographical position and thus its role in the trade between Tibet and the west. This assumption is further strengthened by the information in *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, which strongly points to trading activity in Ladakh. Alchi's position on the trade route towards the Northern Areas is suggested by the fort and bridge situated near the village.[183] The epigraphic evidence discussed in this chapter also refers to an ancient fort at Balukhar near Khalatse, and it is likely that there was also once a bridge here. The location would have been ideal for collecting taxes from passing merchants, and the fort at Alchi could have performed a similar function. The trade would have brought wealth to the region, and would have made its possession highly desirable. The rulers would have benefited from the incoming revenue, which would have enabled them to patronise the building and decorating of temples.

[183] Inscription 3 in the Dukhang at Alchi refers to its patron *sKal ldan shes rab* having built a fort and bridge. According to Denwood, a ruined fort is visible near the river Indus (Denwood: 1980: 146, 153).

By the 11th century knowledge about Tibet in the Muslim geographical sources had begun to wane, and there is no new information on the trade in musk or other products. The trade routes from Tibet to the west are also no longer mentioned. Al-Bīrūnī hints at the presence of Turks in the north and east of Kashmir, which may imply a non-Tibetan presence in the Ladakhi region, and may also account for the fragmented historical material regarding the first royal dynasty in Ladakh. This possible Turkic aspect will be examined in the context of the art historical analysis of the murals in the Dukhang in Chapter III.

CHAPTER II

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE DUKHANG

The Dukhang, or Assembly Hall is the earliest temple at Alchi, and while scholars have dated it variously from *c.* mid-11th to the 12th century, they agree that the Dukhang precedes the Sumtsek. This chapter will discuss the dating of the Dukhang in the context of the temple's architectural details, which will be compared to those of the Sumtsek at Alchi and of Mangyu, Sumda and Wanla. The analysis will also incorporate art historical comparisons from Tibet, Kashmir and eastern India. The chapter concludes with a summary of the inscriptional evidence from the Dukhang.

The Dukhang: summary of the dating

In the 1970s, both David Snellgrove and Romi Khosla included the Dukhang in their respective publications.[1] The focus of Snellgrove's study of the Dukhang was the murals, while Khosla concentrated on the architecture of the temple. Snellgrove's dating of the temple to the 11th-12th century derives from his analysis of selected murals in the Dukhang,[2] while Denwood's date of a *c.* mid-11th century is based on the inscriptional evidence in the temple.[3] Khosla classified the entire Alchi complex (fig. 2.1) as belonging to the earlier period of Tibetan architecture, i. e.1000–1300 AD and he also agreed with Snellgrove's proposal that the Alchi

[1] Snellgrove and Skorupski *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh.* Vol.1,1977. David Snellgrove visited the site in 1974. Romi Khosla: *Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Himalaya,* 1979.
[2] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 79.
[3] Denwood: 1980: 152.

Chöskor specifically dates to the time of *lotsawa* Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055),[4] i.e. the early decades of the 11th century.

More recently Roger Goepper has argued that, "evidence from paintings and inscriptions in the Sumtsek points to a construction date in the decades just before or after 1200. This makes a date of earlier in the twelfth century most likely for the Dukhang."[5] He agrees with Snellgrove and Denwood that the Dukhang predates the Sumtsek on the basis of art historical and inscriptional evidence,[6] but his dating of the Dukhang is substantially later than that given by Denwood. Goepper also notes briefly the inscriptions relating to the founding of the temple by the priest *sKal ldan shes rab*, and places him as active in the 12th century.[7] Goepper offers no explanation for his reinterpretation of the inscriptional evidence, and furthermore, his discussion of the murals depicting Akshobhya and his paradise in the Dukhang does not necessarily support a 12th century date. It should be noted that Goepper's dating of the Sumtsek is not universally accepted amongst Tibetan scholars, and has been challenged more recently by Denwood in his review of *Dating Tibetan Art,*[8] where Goepper's article "More evidence for dating the Sumtsek, Alchi and its relation with Kashmir," is published. Denwood notes that the main inscriptional and artistic evidence for the 13th century date for the Sumtsek could be a later addition.[9]

---

[4] Khosla: 1979: 31.
[5] Goepper: 1999: 16. In the article's captions accompanying the illustrations of the murals, the date is given as the first half of the 12th century.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.* 17.
[8] Denwood: 2005b.
[9] *Ibid.* 486.

The architectural details of the Dukhang

Snellgrove's and Khosla's architectural work on the Dukhang relate mainly to its measurements and to the elaborate woodwork on its columns and doorframe.[10] Before examining the architectural details of the Dukhang, it may be useful to outline the common characteristics of the temples built during the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (*c.* late 10th to the end of the 13th century). Architecturally the temples erected during the first wave of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism are simple, single storied structures. Khosla has defined the architectural conception of the monastery complexes of the earlier period in the western Himalaya as unique, and has assigned to them the following shared features.[11] According to a legend, the founding of the temples is ascribed to Rinchen Zangpo, and the temples are dedicated to the Omniscient Buddha Vairocana, who is represented in murals and sculpture. The main artistic influence on the painted and sculpted works inside the temples and on the architectural motifs is from Kashmir. Finally, the temples were built on relatively flat open ground, facing east and enclosed by a wall.[12]

The Alchi Dukhang is a windowless single storied, flat roofed structure, which is made of sun-dried mud bricks, painted white (fig. 2. 2). Due to the slight gradient of the site the temple faces southeast, not directly east.[13] The relatively simple building method implies the use of local manpower in the temple's construction, and the building materials would have also been found locally, except for the wood

[10] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977. Khosla: 1979.
[11] *Ibid.* The characteristics have been defined by Khosla (1979: 31-6).
[12] Marialaura di Mattia has also emphasised typically Indian planimetrical choices in the early temples (1996: 96).
[13] *Ibid.* 95.

used in the columns.[14] The use of local men and materials would have been economically sensible as to import them would have incurred high transport and labour costs. The modest appearance of the Dukhang implies meagre financial resources allocated for its construction. However, as we shall see later, the magnificent murals (and sculpture) inside the Dukhang contrast sharply with the plain outside of the temple and it is clear that the available monies were spent on commissioning the artwork. The Dukhang's simple layout is similar to that of other temples built during the 10th-early 11th century, for example Nyarma in Ladakh (of which only ruins remain), Tabo in Spiti, Himachal Pradesh (map 13) and Shalu in the southwest of Tibet.[15]

The Dukhang consists of a hall, which is preceded by a courtyard (plan 1). The small hall is more or less square, measuring approximately 7.5 metres times 7.9 metres, with a sanctuary, or niche in the far western wall.[16] The measurements of the niche, which houses the stucco image of Vairocana, are 3.3 metres by 2.4 metres.[17] Two openings on the roof let a minimum of light into the hall so that the temple is largely dark inside. According to Denwood, the overall conception of the Dukhang is very similar to the *c.* 2nd century BC - 2nd century AD rock-cut chaitya halls in western India, and may be a direct descendant of these.[18] The defining characteristics of the chaitya hall are an elongated, aisled and pillared hall with the cult objects at one end and the entrance at the other, and these features that are also

[14] Khosla has argued the original timber structure is from the forests of Kunawar. The geographical district of Kinawar (Kunawar) lies between Spiti and the Satlej River, to the east of north Kulu.
[15] Denwood: 1997: 220.
[16] Khosla: 1979: 59.
[17] *Ibid.* The central image is Vairocana, which is surrounded by four stucco Tathagatas (Ratnasambhava, Akshobhya, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi) (*Ibid.* 61).
[18] Denwood: 1990: 101.

evident in the ground plan of the Dukhang.[19] The chaitya halls also lack light inside, especially in the apse where the cult object (a stupa) would have been situated.

Khosla has remarked on the more informal arrangement of the temples at Alchi compared with Tabo.[20] Many of the early period temples were clearly built on the principle of the mandala, thus representing the Buddhist concept of the world in a three-dimensional form. At Tabo the rectangular boundary wall that surrounds the temple complex is clearly defined, symbolising the outer ring of the mandala, which protects the sacred compound. At Alchi the wall seems to consist of two parts, one of which was perhaps the original and the other a more recent construction that resembles a village boundary wall.[21] As Khosla has noted, the "original" wall is more rectilinear in shape and surrounds the lower ground of the Dukhang and the Lotsawa and Mañjusri Temples, and thus it does seem possible that the boundary of the compound was more clearly defined in its ancient past.[22]

Four round pine columns support the Assembly Hall, and Khosla has described them as fluted and terminating in ionic capitals.[23] The beams, which lie on top of the capitals, are embedded into the walls over lion faced brackets.[24] In addition to the four rounded columns, subsidiary columns have been added across the opening into the niche, which Khosla has argued are later additions because of their plain style.[25] The columns inside the Dukhang have double brackets ("capitals"), which have been carved with different motifs (figs. 2.3, 2.4). While Khosla has referred to

[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Khosla: 1979: 54.
[21] *Ibid.* 55.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.* 59. As noted above, the original columns were made of pine from Kunawar.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.* According to Khosla, the wood used in the later columns is usually Lombardy poplar.

the Dukhang capitals (figs. 2.3, 2.4, 2.5) as Ionic, strictly speaking they are early examples of the standard Tibetan order, where the "capital" consists of two brackets, the lower and the upper.[26] Those in the Dukhang also have a short lower bracket and a longer upper bracket, with two (fig. 2.5) or three volutes (figs. 2.3, 2.4) at the ends. However, their archaic form is clear when they are compared to the upper brackets in later Tibetan architecture, which are substantially longer than the ones in the Dukhang (fig 2.6). The horizontal double bracket in the standard Tibetan order is supported by the column, which rests directly on the floor.[27] In the Dukhang, the columns rest on bases, although because of the new wooden floor, only their upper parts are visible.[28] The column in figure 2.7 is embedded into the wall and has a single short bracket with one volute only. It has a visible square base with a round top.

1. The Dukhang doorway

The doorway of the Dukhang consists of multiple frames, which are ornamentally carved with depictions of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other deities, as well as events of the Buddha's life, and these images are placed inside architectural niches (fig. 2.8). According to Marialaura Di Mattia, these (multiple frame) types of doorways are seen in the temples of Himachal Pradesh, whence they were transmitted to Ladakh and western Tibet.[29] She has argued that the doorways' stylistic source stems from Indian temple architecture (both Buddhist and Hindu) and according to her these Indian sources are from the Gupta (from *c.* mid-4th to mid-6th century)

[26] The term capital should perhaps only be used when discussing classical Greek or Roman architecture. In Tibetan architecture, the "capital" is a bracket. I am grateful to Philip Denwood for discussing the above architectural terms with me.
[27] Denwood: 1997: 223.
[28] I am grateful to Dr. Gerald Kozicz, Graz, Austria for providing me with this information.
[29] Di Mattia: 2007: 69. She emphasises that this type of doorway did not originate from Kashmir. This view is also held by Poell (2004: 192).

and post-Gupta periods.[30] She has compared the Dukhang doorframe to the western entrance of the early 6th century Vishnu temple at Deogarh in northern India[31](fig.2.9). Approximately contemporaneous with Deogarh, the doorways in the *c.* 5th-6th century Buddhist rock cut cave site of Ajanta in the Western Ghats of the Deccan (map 13A) could also have served as a prototype for the Dukhang door. In Cave 2 the doorway of the shrine room is double framed and is carved with deities and loving couples (fig. 2.10). The placing of carved images inside architectural frames extends beyond the doorframes at Ajanta. For example, in Cave 19, the capitals and the frieze above it have carved Buddhas placed inside simple architectural frames.[32] The carved motif of a seated Buddha inside a pillared architectural frame can be found in the capitals (or brackets) both in Cave 19 and the Dukhang (fig. 2.4).

The main difference between the portals in Indian temple architecture and in the Dukhang is the material employed: in the former, the doorways are carved of stone while in the Dukhang wood is used.[33] Indian inspired doorways appear in Tibetan religious architecture hundreds of years before the Dukhang. The 7th century Jokhang temple in Lhasa has nine ancient timber doorways with multiple frames, which are carved with Buddhist deities, narrative scenes or decorative Indian details such as *vyālas*[34] (fig. 2.11; the door to the northern chapel on the ground floor). According to Alexander, the structure of the doorways is classically Indian.[35] The doorway leading to the Jowo chapel has two pilasters and three sets of jambs, the

[30] Di Mattia: 1996: 97. Poell (2004) also agrees that the door type seen in the Dukhang is ultimately derived from the classical Gupta temple architecture.
[31] Di Mattia: *ibid.*
[32] Behl: 1998: illustration on page 45.
[33] Di Mattia: 1996: 97.
[34] Alexander: 2005: 46, 52.
[35] *Ibid.* 46.

outer one of which is carved with Buddhist deities framed inside panels (fig. 2.12).[36] A similar framing device is used in Cave 2 at Ajanta,[37] whence the idea must have originated. The framed squares enclosing Buddhist deities are also repeated above the doorway in the Dukhang (fig. 2.13).

According to Heinrich Poell, the architectural niches inside which the carved figures are placed on the Dukhang doorframe clearly derive from classical Kashmiri models.[38] Di Mattia has defined the trefoil arch surmounted by a gabled roof and supported by two fluted columns as a classical Kashmiri façade,[39] which is frequently used as a framing device on the Dukhang doorjamb (fig. 2.14; lower right). The earlier Kashmiri temples of Buniar (9^{th}-10^{th} century), Martand (second quarter of the 8^{th} century), Avantisvamin (mid-9^{th} century) and Pandrethan (8^{th}-9^{th} century) all have the trefoil arch as a feature (figs. 2.15, 2.16).[40] According to Di Mattia the stepped arch is a variation of the trefoil arch,[41] which is also employed on the Dukhang doorjamb (fig. 2. 14; top right).

---

[36] *Ibid.*
[37] Alexander (*ibid.*) has compared the wooden doorway of the Jowo chapel to those at Ajanta caves 1, 5 and 24.
[38] Poell: 2004: He also notes that the art of the classical period (6^{th}-10^{th} centuries) in Kashmir was strongly influenced by the earlier art of Gandhara and the Northwest. The architectural frame was an artistic device often used in Gandharan Buddhist art (see, for example, Taddei: 1987: fig. 4; Huntington 1985: page 145, fig. 8. 24)
[39] Di Mattia: 2007: 60. Also pp. 58, 70.
[40] For more illustrations of Kashmiri temple façades, see Pal (2007), pp. 44-57.
[41] Di Mattia: 2007: 60.

2. Pala influence

In addition to the Kashmiri architectural examples, the tradition of placing Buddhist images inside architectural frames is also frequently observed in the 11th-12th century Pala period (*c.* 750-1214) palm-leaf manuscript illuminations from eastern India (map 13A; Bihar and Bengal).[42] It is likely that the architectural framing device for presenting deities was used in actual Pala temple architecture, most of whose superstructures have not survived. A phyllite stele dated to *c.* 11th century depicts a seated Mañjuvajra framed by a trefoil arch (fig. 2.17). The top of the arch is mounted by miniature temples, which house deities inside simple frames.[43] The stele is likely to have formed part of a temple decoration, and a substantial number of such stelae has survived. One of the architectural niches on the Dukhang doorjamb depicts on top of the columns a foliate design (fig. 2.18), which is very similar to an actual Pala period architectural ornament from eastern India (fig. 2.19).

Many of the manuscript illustrations record the name of the deity and its place of worship. Most of these were in Bihar and Bengal - the ancient Pala domain, while Nepal and places as far distant as China, South-East Asia and southern India have also been noted.[44] Thus, the manuscript illustrations of temples might refer to structures that once actually existed. The importance placed on the temple and its location emphasises the architectural aspect in the Pala miniature tradition, which reflects in turn the influence of actual monasteries and temples in Buddhist communities in eastern India.

---

[42] Pala period saw flourishing Buddhism and Buddhist activity in eastern India. Typical of the era were huge monastic complexes, such as Nalanda, which were Buddhist teaching centres for monks from Tibet, South-East Asia and China. Buddhism in eastern India succumbed to the Muslim onslaught, which began in the late 12th century.

[43] A *c.*8th century terracotta plaque from Bodh Gaya shows the Buddha seated inside the arched sanctum of the Mahabodhi temple (illustrated in Zwalf: 1985: 109).

[44] Zwalf: 1985: 126.

The following illustrations are typical of the use of architectural features in Pala Buddhist manuscripts. A *c.*mid-12th century manuscript of *The Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Bihar depicts the Buddha seated inside a cinquefoil arched shrine (fig. 2.20).[45] In another 12th century manuscript from Bihar the deities are portrayed inside shrines that have a trefoil arch (fig. 2. 21).[46] Pala artistic elements were influential from the 11th century onwards in different Tibetan artistic media, and the architectural frames inside which the Buddha or Buddhist deities are placed were applied on manuscript covers[47] and on thangkas. A 12th century thangka, which depicts scenes from the life of the Buddha emphasised these architectural elements, where each scene is placed inside a trefoil shrine with ornate roofs and columns (fig. 2.22).[48]

The above discussion demonstrates that while the Kashmiri architectural elements were undoubtedly copied on the Dukhang doorframe, they were not necessarily the main or the only influence for the Dukhang carvings, as the latter also strongly reflect Pala artistic traditions. Therefore the art historical evidence suggests that artists and artistic influences from eastern India had a significant impact on Alchi during the 11th century. In figure 2.13 the lavish ornamentation and the creatures that flank the centrally placed images are reminiscent of Pala period decorative details (figs. 2.17, 2.19). Pala influence is further demonstrated by comparing a mural of a painted horse in the Sumtsek to illustrations of a horse in two 12th-

[45] In the Dukhang at Alchi, a clay sculpture of Jina Ratnasambhava is placed inside a cinquefoil arched shrine (see Luczanits: 2004: fig. 139). Di Mattia (2007: 63, plate 7) notes that in the temple of Lhalung in Spiti, Himachal Pradesh there is an image of Mañjusri framed by a five-lobed arch. The temple is dated either to *c.*11th century or to the end of the 12th century. She also refers to Pala-Sena architectural elements in the 11th-12th century murals in the Lotsawa Lhakang of Nako in Kinnaur (*ibid.* 65-66).
[46] Losty: 1982: 32.
[47] Pal: 2003: illustrated on p. 189.
[48] *Ibid.* 187. It is precisely because of the architectural frames used in this thangka that it is considered to be stylistically more Indian than Tibetan.

century Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal and eastern India.[49] The portrayal of a horse in a royal hunt (fig. 2.23) on the dhoti of the gigantic four-armed Avalokiteshvara in the Sumtsek is practically identical to that in the *c.*1100 *Vessantara jātaka* manuscript from Nepal (fig. 2.24). The strongest similarities between the two horses are the body and especially the shape of the head. Both horses also have a pearl decoration around their necks. A manuscript of the same date from eastern India (fig. 2.25) depicts a horse in a similar movement to the one in the Sumtsek (fig. 2.23), and both horses also have red stripes around their front and hind legs.

Poell has suggested that the now destroyed doorway of the *c.* mid-10th century Golden Temple at Tholing in western Tibet had the only known example comparable to the Buddha's life story depicted on the Dukhang doorframe but nevertheless, he dates the latter to *c.* late 12th century.[50] Direct comparisons between the iconography on the two doorframes seem to suggest, however that they were carved in a time span closer than 200 years. Poell acknowledges that the Dukhang doorframe was influenced by several artistic sources, including Kashmir, which was the most important, Himachal and western Tibet, and that "all these sources had in turn been influenced by various Indian traditions."[51] He concludes his iconographic discussion of the Dukhang portal by stating, "...the absence of all influences from Pala art — despite contacts with the holy sites of Buddhism in

[49] Losty: 1982: 26-7, 30-1. The earliest Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts date from *c.*1000 AD, and are very similar to the Pala ones in style and composition.
[50] Poell: 2004: 195.
[51] *Ibid.* 198.

Eastern India...."[52] In the light of my previous analysis of the artistic influences on the Dukhang doorframe, his statement would appear to be exaggerated.

According to Di Mattia, the stylistic sources for the Dukhang doorframe carvings were from northern India and Kashmiri areas.[53] My art historical comparison demonstrates, however, that the Dukhang doorframe was strongly influenced stylistically by eastern Indian artistic traditions, while the actual form of the door was from much earlier Gupta (*c.* 4th-6th century) Indian temple architecture. Furthermore, the *c.*mid-11th century date of the Dukhang suggests that the Pala artistic influences could have been transmitted directly to Ladakh from eastern India. Therefore, while scholars have emphasised Kashmiri influences on the Dukhang doorframe, it also clearly represents established Indian architectural and artistic traditions.

The Sumtsek

Architecturally, the three-tiered Sumtsek at Alchi is more ambitious in concept than the simple structure of the Dukhang (fig. 2. 1; the tallest structure in the middle). However, both temples were built using the same local building methods and material. Like the Dukhang, the Sumtsek is constructed of sun-dried mud bricks, has a flat roof and is painted white on the outside. The wooden porch of the Sumtsek is embellished with ornate carvings, and similar ones can also be found inside the temple. According to Denwood, the brackets in the Sumtsek are also different from the mainstream of Tibetan architectural tradition, and he has

[52] *Ibid.* 199.
[53] Di Mattia: 2007: 69. She notes these stylistic sources "in a broad sense."

described them as an early version of the Tibetan double bracket,[54] since both the upper and lower brackets on the porch of the Sumtsek are short with only one volute (fig. 2.26). In comparison, nearly all of the Dukhang brackets have a longer upper bracket than the ones on the Sumtsek porch, which suggests that the Sumtsek brackets are even more archaic in style than those in the Dukhang. The end column on the left of the porch has a carved protruding lion, which is attached by its hind leg to a very short bracket (fig. 2.26; detail fig. 2. 26a). The lion seems to act as a continuation of the bracket, albeit a rather elaborate one. The end column on the right of the porch has a similar carving of a lion. While the lions may not have a supporting function, nevertheless aesthetically they are very pleasing.

On the first upper storey inside the Sumtsek, the brackets are very similar to those on the porch: short upper and lower brackets with one volute. In the middle of the bracket, there is a carved motif of the Buddha inside a stepped arch (fig. 2.27; compare this to fig. 2. 14 on the Dukhang doorway). The columns are fluted and rest on square bases.[55] The elaborate wooden carvings on the porch of the Sumtsek also suggest an early date for its construction.[56] The architrave situated above the brackets has a group of three small columns, which imitate the design of the actual columns and the brackets on the porch (fig. 2.26). These three columns support the cornice above, through a kind of bracket of their own.[57] Between the columns there are inverted V-shaped supports, which have either a trefoil or stepped arch (fig. 2.26). These enclose images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Above the cornice, the protruding joist ends are carved with lions (fig. 2. 26). According to Denwood,

[54] Denwood: 1975: 62, 58.
[55] See Khosla: 1979, black and white plate 31.
[56] Denwood: 1975: 56.
[57] *Ibid.*

the extra division of the entablature between the architrave and cornice corresponds to the frieze in Greco-Roman architecture, and constitutes a feature not seen in the standard Tibetan order.[58] The archaic form of the brackets and the elaborate carving in the Sumtsek has led Denwood to conclude that they originated from hybrid Central Asian sources, which were developed during the first millennium AD.[59]

The porch of the Dukhang also has an inverted V-shape (or triangular) wooden support (fig. 2.28), which has a cinquefoil arch inside, carved with fantastic animals. An image of Mañjusri is placed on a wooden support between the inner edges of the cinquefoil. The lower creature, which resembles a lion, stands on its hind legs. Its depiction is very similar to the creatures flanking Mañjuvajra in figure 2.17 and the Buddha in figure 2.19, thus suggesting an Indian origin for the Dukhang carvings. Underneath the arch in figure 2. 28, wooden lions seem to act as a continuation of the column bracket, but in fact they were probably carved for decorative purposes. Similar lions are repeated on the porch of the Sumtsek (figs. 2. 26, 2. 26a).

André Alexander has compared the trefoil arch in the Sumtsek and the inverted V-shape arch above the entrance corridor to the Jowo chapel inside the Jokhang temple in Lhasa, built originally in the 7th century but much added to over the centuries.[60] According to Alexander, the entrance area is also decorated with trefoil arches, which are simpler in design than those at Alchi. He also suggests that the triangular arch (the inverted V-shape) could have arrived in Lhasa via Kashmir and

[58] *Ibid.* The frieze in the Sumtsek porch is where the small clusters of three columns and the inverted V-shapes are placed.
[59] *Ibid.* 62. Di Mattia (1996: fn.17) has noted that Ionic order capitals reached Ladakh probably from Central Asia, as they are absent from the Kashmiri tradition.
[60] Alexander: 2005: 52.

western Tibet in the 11th century, and that the present arch is a later, less decorated copy.[61] Compared to the Sumtsek arch, the one in the Jokhang is much wider and plainer in shape, and quite different in concept.

Wanla

The temple of Wanla is situated in a village of the same name about 35 kilometres to the southwest of Alchi (map 1B; fig. 2.29). Neil Howard was the first scholar to point out the similarities between the Wanla temple and the Sumtsek at Alchi.[62] He has described Wanla as a defensible town, and remarked that the temple once formed part of the fortress, which is now in ruins.[63] The position of the complex along a ridge would have made it ideal for defence. Wanla appears in the Ladakhi Royal Chronicle, where its foundation is attributed to the king *Nag lug* in the *c.* late 11th century, but as has been noted above, the Chronicle cannot be relied on for historical accuracy. Denwood has recently suggested that the temple could in fact date from late 12th-early 13th century, based on the inscriptional evidence found within it.[64] His dating is about 100 years earlier than that of Luczanits and Tropper, who date it to the late 13th-early 14th century.[65]

Like the Sumtsek at Alchi, Wanla is a three-storied temple and has a square ground plan with three niches, which house huge sculptures of the eleven-headed Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, Bodhisattva Maitreya and Buddha Sakyamuni. In the Sumtsek at Alchi the gigantic deities placed inside the niches are the four-armed

[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Howard: 1989. I am very grateful to Neil Howard for discussing the temple of Wanla with me.
[63] *Ibid.* 257.
[64] Denwood: 2007. The inscription will be discussed in chapter IV of this thesis.
[65] Luczanits: 2002; Tropper: 2007.

Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, Maitreya and Mañjusri. The Wanla porch has four columns, two of which are embedded in the wall on either side. The two columns in the middle have double brackets, manifesting a short lower bracket with one volute and a long upper bracket with three volutes (fig. 2.30). In the middle of each bracket is a carved Buddha image inside a frame. The architrave is not continuous but has a break in the middle, where the ends are in the shape of two carved protruding lions (fig. 2.30). Each of the end brackets also has a lion attached underneath the architrave (fig. 2.31). While the Sumtsek lions are full of motion with lean bodies and curving tails, their Wanla counterparts are static with round bodies and non-feline faces.

In the middle of the architrave is an inverted V-shaped support (resting on the two lions), with a trefoil arch inside. It has three more or less evenly spaced single columns on either side (fig. 2.30). Howard has noted that the triple columns of the nearby ruined palace balcony are very like those in the upper register of the porch of the Sumtsek at Alchi.[66] It is clear that the idea behind the Wanla porch, albeit less elaborate originates from the Alchi Sumtsek. Gerard Kozicz points out that, while the lower horizontal beam is not interrupted on the Sumtsek porch, an interrupted beam with a trefoil arch above is apparent on the Dukhang porch.[67] This suggests that the builders of Wanla were also imitating building techniques used in the Dukhang. The archaic form of the brackets in the Sumtsek also implies clearly that they pre-date the Wanla brackets, and thus the latter fit with the late 12th – early 13th century date proposed by Denwood.

[66] Howard: 1989: 257; fig. 38. Personal communication, October 2007.
[67] Kozicz: 2002: 134. The interrupted beam on the Dukhang porch has been almost hidden by later additions of walls and a stupa (*ibid.*). Although Kozicz refers to a trifoliate arch on the porch of the Dukhang, the arch (see my figure 2. 28) is in fact cinquefoil.

Sumda

The temple in the village of Sumda Chung has archaic similarities to the Dukhang and the Sumtsek. Sumda is situated about 10 kilometres to the south of Alchi (map 1A). Snellgrove attributed the foundation of Sumda to the times of Rinchen Zangpo[68], while according to Luczanits the temple is approximately contemporary with the Sumtsek (*c.*1200) or earlier.[69] The temple consists of a rectangular Assembly Hall, which has a niche in the end containing a three-dimensional clay Vajradhātu mandala and two Bodhisattva chapels on the sides of the main hall[70] (plan 2). The Assembly Hall is supported by four columns, of which at least one is original.[71] The column in figure 2.32 has an early double bracket, which is very similar to the archaic type on the porch of the Sumtsek at Alchi. The lower bracket has one carved volute, and both brackets are short. The column is fluted and rests on a base. The end of the beam is embedded in the wall, and is "supported" underneath by a protruding carved lion, which is reminiscent in style of those underneath the cinquefoil arch on the porch of the Dukhang (fig. 2.28) rather than of the lean, leaping pair on the porch of the Sumtsek (fig. 2.33).

The ceiling of the Assembly Hall is also painted with panels of textile motifs (fig. 2.34), and the right hand panel is identical to the one depicted on the ceiling of the Sumtsek (fig. 2. 35). The panel next to the right hand one on the Sumda ceiling (fig. 2.34) has a blue, yellow, red and white colour scheme, which is likely to denote a

[68] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1980: 61.
[69] Luczanits: 2004: 186. He seems to think, however that the Sumda Assembly Hall predates the Sumtsek (*ibid.* 190).
[70] *Ibid.*176, 186-187.
[71] Luczanits: www. archresearch.tugraz.at (website of the University of Technology, Graz, Austria).

brocade, because of the bands of changing colours.[72] This type of textile is also depicted several times in the Sumtsek (fig. 2.36).[73]

While Luczanits postulates a date of *c.*1200 for Sumda, he has noted several similarities not only in the architecture but also in the iconography of the Buddhist deities between the Sumda Assembly Hall and the Dukhang and the Sumtsek at Alchi.[74] The ground plan of the Sumda Assembly Hall is very similar to that of the Dukhang at Alchi: they both share the rectangular shape, the niche in the end of the temple and the two chapels on the sides of the hall. The double bracket, the column and the supporting lions at Sumda echo those in the Sumtsek and the Dukhang. Furthermore, the painted ceiling motifs at Sumda are practically identical to those in the Sumtsek. The slightly sketchier style of painting at Sumda could imply that it was painted by a different group of artists from those responsible for the Sumtsek, who were unable to produce paintings in the same superior manner as those in the Sumtsek. Nevertheless, the Sumda artists were following the artistic precedent set by the patrons of the Sumtsek. The archaic features of the Assembly Hall, i.e. the ground plan, the Vairocana iconography and the short double brackets, suggest a date well before 1200.

Mangyu

The monastery of Mangyu is situated about 20 kilometres to the west of Alchi (map 1A). Snellgrove noted that Mangyu was an old site,[75] and Luczanits dates it to the

[72] Goepper: 1995: 106. The pattern weft is represented by the changing colour bands of blue, yellow and red, which show through the white design of the animal (*ibid.*).
[73] Goepper: 1996a: 240, 242, 246.
[74] Luczanits: 2004: 177 "the distribution of the main images is the same as in the Alchi Dukhang..."; "the nearest comparison for the style of the Jinas in the Sumda Vajradhatumandala are the goddesses of the Alchi Sumtseg.."; also pp. 185-86.
[75] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 22.

same period as he dates Alchi, *c.* 1175.[76] Mangyu consists of two assembly halls (a Vairocana Temple and a Sakyamuni Temple, although the latter is today known as the Avalokisteshvara Temple) and two chapels, which house images of Maitreya[77] (plan 3). All the temples face southeast. The Vairocana Temple is considered to be the oldest, and as its name suggests, it has an image of a four-headed Vairocana in the niche in the end of the temple. The room (without the niche) measures 5.1 metres by 3.6 metres and is thus quite small.[78] There are four columns in the Vairocana Temple, one of which is shown in figure 2.37.[79] The column has a short double bracket, with one volute on the lower bracket and thus resembles the archaic bracket on the column at Sumda and in the porch of the Sumtsek at Alchi (figs. 2.26, 2.32). The column does not appear to be fluted, and thus may not be original. As at Sumda, a carved lion protrudes from the wall underneath the beam (fig.2.38). The geese painted at the top of the wall behind the lion are also depicted in a very similar manner in the Sumtsek (fig. 2.39). Furthermore, the painted textile panels on the ceiling of the Vairocana Temple (fig.2.40) closely resemble those in the Sumtsek. In fact, the left hand panel in figure 2. 40 is practically identical to that shown in figure 2. 36 in the Sumtsek at Alchi. The decorated ceiling at Mangyu also closely resembles that of Sumda.

Conclusions

The architectural and artistic features discussed above suggest that the Sumda Assembly Hall and the Vairocana Temple at Mangyu can be classified as early examples of Tibetan religious architecture. The ground plans of Mangyu and

[76] Luczanits: 2004: 155, 164.
[77] *Ibid.* 155-56.
[78] Luczanits: 2004: 156. According to him, the niche is off the main central axis (see plan 3).
[79] According to Gerald Kozicz, the Mangyu columns have bases and are of the same style. Personal communication, October 2007.

Sumda are directly comparable to that of the Dukhang, and thus strongly suggest that these three temples were part of the same wave of building activity. The archaic short double brackets with one volute on the lower bracket observed at Mangyu and Sumda resemble very closely those in the Sumtsek. Furthermore, the painted textile motifs on their ceilings are so similar to the Sumtsek ones that all three ceilings must have been executed at roughly the same time.

Many of the Dukhang's architectural features are repeated in the Sumtsek. For example, the architectural frames of the stepped and the trefoil arch, and the inverted V-shaped support on the porch appear in both temples. This suggests that the woodwork of the Sumtsek was executed in very close conjunction with the building of the Dukhang. The short brackets with one volute in the Sumtsek also seem to indicate that the temple was constructed shortly after the Dukhang, since, had it been much later, the brackets would almost certainly have been longer. This implies that the Sumtsek at Alchi is very likely to date from the second half of the 11th century, which in turn raises serious doubts about Goepper's dating of *c.* 1200.

The magnificent wooden carvings and murals in the Sumtsek must have been executed on behalf of wealthy and powerful patrons, who also continued the scheme at Sumda and Mangyu. The close location of these temples to each other further suggests they were under the same patronage (maps 1A and 1B). The central role and historical importance of the Sumtsek in the region is reflected in the later temple of Wanla, where many of the Sumtsek's architectural features were repeated in somewhat modified form. In contrast, an early construction date for the Dukhang

and the Sumtsek at Alchi, Sumda and Mangyu is suggested by the strong archaic similarities shared between these four temples.

The inscriptions

As I have noted previously, the inscriptions inside the Dukhang were translated and commented on by Philip Denwood in 1975.[80] They are largely Buddhist in content, with only a few references to historical events. I summarise here the non-Buddhist information they contain. Inscription 1 was written by a Buddhist monk *sKal ldan shes rab*, who was also the founder of the Dukhang.[81] He describes Alchi as the "hermitage of Alchi in *sPu rgyal*'s Tibet,"[82] where the word "*sPu rgyal*" is an ancient name for the Yarlung dynasty. Inscription 2, which was written by the monk *Grags ldan 'od* contains some information about the life of *sKal ldan shes rab*. He was born in Sumda and lived in the time of *'Brom ston* (1004-1064).[83] We might infer that the temple in Sumda was built to commemorate the founder of Alchi, as the above art historical discussion suggests that the Dukhang and the Sumtsek predate Sumda. Furthermore, *sKal ldan shes rab* is described as a wealthy patron.[84] Inscription 3, which was composed by a monk named *'Byung gnas shes rab* tells us that *sKal ldan shes rab* was a member of the ancient *'Bro* clan, that he was educated in the monastery of Nyarma in *Mar yul*, and that he also built a bridge and a fort near Alchi.[85] These remarks either reflect his wealth and power in the region, or perhaps that of his patrons. Inscriptions 4 and 5 are Buddhist in content,

[80] Denwood: 1980: 118-54. According to Denwood, the condition of the inscriptions varies considerably.
[81] *Ibid.* 144. "..., I have built a precious temple with devoted veneration!" The numbering given by Philip Denwood (1980) is followed here.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.* 145. *'Brom ston* was a disciple of Atisa (*ibid.* 153).
[84] *Ibid.* 145.
[85] *Ibid.* 146. The inscription is referred to in chapter I (page 59, fn. 183).

and were written by *sKal ldan shes rab* himself.[86] According to Denwood, inscription 4 was fitted round inscription 1 at the time of the painting the temple.[87]

All the inscriptions in the Dukhang are written in *dbu med* script, and Denwood has noted that the orthography of inscriptions 1, 4 and 5 retains archaisms typical of the Dunhuang style (8^{th}-10^{th} century), but the employment of these archaisms is not completely consistent in all the three inscriptions, which seems to suggest they were beginning to fall out of use in Ladakh at the time.[88] The three inscriptions are contemporaneous with each other, and inscription 1 was written just after the completion of the Dukhang by its founder *sKal ldan shes rab.*[89] According to Denwood, the orthography and the few historical references in the above three inscriptions suggest that the Dukhang was founded *c.*1040-1050.[90] The historical references are the mention of '*Brom ston*, who was a contemporary of the temple's founder, and the founding date of *c.*1000 for Nyarma, which *sKal ldan shes rab* attended.[91] Inscription 3 was written not many years later than inscriptions 1, 4 and 5, when *sKal ldan shes rab* was already famous for his good works, and accordingly Denwood dates it to about 1050.[92]

Inscription 2 is slightly later than 1050, and it was probably written after the deaths of *sKal ldan shes rab* and '*Brom ston* (*c.*1060).[93] Therefore, the inscriptional evidence points to the date of *c.* 1040-1050 for the founding of the Dukhang. In his

[86] *Ibid.* 151.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Ibid.* 119.
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.* 152.
[91] The date of Nyarma is not referred to in the inscriptions-this is an inference from the fact that it is independently known to have been founded by Rinchen Zangpo (see Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977: 4).
[92] Denwood: 1980: 152.
[93] *Ibid.* There is no mention of successors to *sKal ldan shes rab* in inscription 2.

1999 article on the Dukhang, which also mentions the new date for the temple, Goepper did not attempt to comment on Denwood's work on the inscriptions, and Denwood thus remains the only scholar to have worked extensively on the inscriptional evidence in the Dukhang.

In summary, there is no direct inscriptional evidence for the 12th century date suggested by Goepper and accordingly, Denwood's date of *c.*1050 may be deemed valid for the foundation of the Dukhang. As argued by Denwood, the few historical clues in the inscriptions, together with their orthography suggest an 11th century date for the temple. In addition to the evidence in the inscription 2, the reference to the *'Bro* clan (inscription 3), which was a well known aristocratic lineage during Yarlung dynasty, suggests an early period in Ladakh's history since it is possible that members of the clan had emigrated from the central regions after the collapse of the empire to help create a new kingdom in western Tibet.[94] The specific mention of *sKal ldan shes rab* as a member of this aristocratic family reflects aspirations of a newly founded kingdom rather than those of more established, later rulers of the 12th century. The date of *c.*1050 for the Dukhang also fits the stylistic and iconographic arguments made by Fournier and Stoddard regarding the murals in the Sumtsek, which they date to the 11th or 12th century.[95] It is worth emphasising that Goepper's dating of the Dukhang to the 12th century relies solely on the third floor wall painting of the nine masters of the *'Bri gung pa* lineage and the accompanying inscriptions in the Sumtsek, which, Goepper argues, date to *c.*1200. Denwood has noted that two inscriptions on the ground floor of the Sumtsek can be considered contemporary with the Dukhang, i.e. *c.* mid-11th

[94] Petech: 1997(a): 231. The original home of the *'Bro* clan was Zhangzhung.
[95] See fn. 11 in chapter I.

century.[96] Thus, while the epigraphical and art historical evidence on the third floor of the Sumtsek appears to date from the early 13th century, the incriptions and the mural are likely to be later additions.[97] Denwood has also noted a 16th century inscription in the Sumtsek, and thus it is clear that later patrons of the temple complex were adding their own epigraphs.[98] The inscriptional evidence in the Dukhang, although fragmentary, does allude to an early period of Ladakh's history, and in the following chapter the iconography of the mural known as "The Royal Drinking Scene" will be analysed in an attempt to add to the historical background of the temple.

[96] Denwood: 1980: 152-3. Inscription 6 in the Sumtsek was written by the same author as the inscription 2 in the Dukhang. Inscription 7 refers to the *'Bro* clan.
[97] Fournier (in Bléhaut: 2001: 72-3) has noted that the *'Bri gung pa* arrived at Alchi in the 13th century, and built the temple of Lhakhang Soma on the site.
[98] Denwood: 1980: 152.

CHAPTER III

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF "THE ROYAL DRINKING SCENE"

While Ladakh's military and economic importance under the Tibetan empire has been established in Chapter I, the reign of the first dynasty in Ladakh (10th century until *c.* 1450) is particularly poorly documented in historical sources with no certain dates or names for rulers. Because the written sources are so fragmentary and can, at best, offer mere glimpses of possible 10th-12th century historical events in the region, I propose using the art historical evidence afforded by the murals in the Dukhang and which I examine in this chapter to shed light on the temple's historical background. The emphasis of the analysis will be on the iconography of the mural known as the "The Royal Drinking Scene."

Introduction to "The Royal Drinking Scene"

Inside the Dukhang, the murals on the eastern left wall depict secular scenes. Many of these murals have not been published due to the difficulty in photographing them and their fragile condition.[1] Perhaps the best-known mural is "The Royal Drinking Scene,"[2] the only secular painting in the Dukhang to have been published and subjected to art historical analysis (fig. 3. 1).[3] The mural is situated on the left hand side inside the doorway upon entering the Dukhang.

[1] The Western Himalayan Archive in the University of Vienna (WHAV) holds the visual material from the Dukhang.
[2] I am extremely grateful to Mr Lionel Fournier, France for drawing to my attention the images from the Dukhang. His generosity regarding his visual material and his knowledge of Alchi have been an invaluable help to me.
[3] The title for the mural was suggested by David Snellgrove (Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31).

In 1909, AH Francke visited Alchi and gave the first written description of "The Royal Drinking Scene." According to Francke, the Assembly Hall had remained as it was since its foundation, and the mural probably depicted the king with his wife and son.[4] He also described the king as wearing a diadem and a costume consisting of a yellow mantle with large round spots with the figure of a lion or a tiger inside them.[5] In 1968, an Indian scholar Madanjeet Singh described the mural as depicting a royal camp and dated it to the 13th-14th century.[6] Giuseppe Tucci also dated the painting to the 14th century, and according to him, it portrays "two Tibetan women offering refreshment to a king or a high dignitary wearing a kaftan of Iranian type."[7]

Commenting on "The Royal Drinking Scene" in 1975 Snellgrove remarked that "this little piece is one of the most remarkable which have survived anywhere in the Tibetan-speaking world."[8] The scene depicts a woman offering a drinking vessel to the man seated in the middle (fig. 3. 2). To the right of the central figure another man holds a cup. The three main figures are flanked by subsidiary standing figures, both male and female. The entire composition is framed by a wavy, "cloud-like" outline. Snellgrove described the scene as portraying a Tibetan ruler with his queen and the crown prince (thereby following Francke's original description), and he classified the flanking figures as military officers, ministers and retainers.[9] Snellgrove also attempted to place the mural into a wider artistic and cultural background, and he suggested the costumes depicted in the mural were generally

[4] Francke: 1992 (reprint of the 1914 original): 90-1.
[5] *Ibid.* 91.
[6] Singh: 1968: 63.
[7] Tucci: 1973: 181.
[8] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31.
[9] *Ibid.*

Central Asian, derived from the Persian world, and influenced more specifically by Sasanian culture.[10] Snellgrove found further parallels with Central Asia in the headdresses of the figures, which he described as reminiscent of the headgear depicted in Central Asian Manichaean miniatures.[11] He concluded that the painting did not reflect the political situation of the 10th to 11th century kings of western Tibet, but instead it seemed to have derived from an earlier period [8th-9th century], when the Tibetan empire ruled parts of Central Asia.[12] He thus postulated that the Tibetan court artist had portrayed the king in this scene in the context of the grandeur of former kings.[13]

Snellgrove argued that the literary style of the Dukhang inscriptions "also deliberately harks back to the same early period."[14] The painting is situated above an inscription, which has been translated by Snellgrove as follows: " The king and queen (*rgyal yum*) of vast merits were refreshing themselves. He asked the king, who wished it done, and in order to hasten the matter, he built here in the Alchi valley at much cost this great monastery, his faith being the main factor and his wealth the secondary one."[15] According to Snellgrove, the inscription implies that the mural portrays a royal party having refreshments while on tour in the Alchi area.[16]

---

[10] *Ibid.* Between 224-651 AD the Persian Sasanian empire held sway over a vast geographical area. It seems that by the term "Central Asia" Snellgrove refers to western Central Asia and Xinjiang.
[11] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977:33. Manichaeism was a religion that existed between the 3rd and the 15th centuries AD. The teachings of Mani, the founder of the religion spread from the Mediterranean to Central and East Asia (Gulacsi: 2001:3-4.)
[12] Snellgrove & Skorupski: 1977:33
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.* 31,fn.25. As remarked by Snellgrove, the name of the king is not mentioned.
[16] *Ibid.*

Philip Denwood, however, has expressed some reservations about this translation, and he renders *"rgyal yum"* as "Royal Mother," which refers to the Buddhist deity *Prajñāpāramitā.*[17] Denwood has translated the inscription as follows: "Having amassed merit in former lives, he is now wealthy. Free from avarice, he is impartially munificent. For favours done to him he does favours in return. In order to help living beings he strove to build a fort and a bridge. Again and again he has set up meditation classes and performed disinterested acts of virtue. He has multiplied greatly the [images of the] Royal Mother of infinite merits. In pursuance of the request to the father, he built this great *vihara* here in Alchi, his faith being the main factor, and his wealth a secondary one."[18]

Snellgrove made no attempt to discuss the iconography of the mural further, and his analysis has remained largely unchallenged by other scholars of Tibetan art. Pratapaditya Pal has emphasised the Kashmiri artistic connection in the mural,[19] and suggested that, "The scene may symbolise the idea of paradise rather than represent a mundane occasion."[20] Roberto Vitali, a scholar of Tibetan history has argued that the scene is a persistence of Iranian standards in the Buddhist period of *mNga' ris*, though probably in ideal rather than in literal terms, and that the scene does not depict the West Tibetan court of the day,[21] thereby agreeing with Snellgrove. Vitali has further stated that the Iranian elements, such as the costumes with Sasanian roundels and the court ritual in the drinking scene, "are too obvious

[17] Personal communication with Philip Denwood 3. 10. 2005. Also see Denwood: 1980: 146 (line 13).
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Pal and Fournier: 1982: 26.
[20] *Ibid.*30.
[21] Vitali: 1996: 163. *mNga' ris* refers to the area that is now part of western Tibet.

to be discussed here," and has suggested the drinking scene is probably of Sogdian origin. [22]

More recently, the iconography of the mural has been analysed in some depth by F. B. Flood in his article titled "A Royal Drinking Scene from Alchi: Iranian iconography in the Western Himalayas."[23] He suggests that the Turko-Iranian influences in the Alchi paintings derive ultimately from the repertoire of Sasanian royal iconography, and furthermore, "in the Alchi frescoes [sic] we are looking at images of Sasanian royal art through the distorting mirror of Central Asian, Indian and Islamic influences, now given expression in the syncretic context of Western Tibetan art."[24] Thus Flood has given an Iranian origin for the scene's iconography, and although his analysis is performed largely from the Islamic artistic and cultural perspective, it is to date by far the most comprehensive discussion on the possible iconographic types seen in "The Royal Drinking Scene."

The mural is also included in *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and its sources*, where it is briefly discussed under "The early Islamic period."[25] Eleanor Sims describes the middle figure in the mural as a prince wearing a front-closing caftan, which she defines as Turkic.[26] According to her, the man's hairstyle consisting of long black hair in many plaits with a narrow scarf tied around the head is reminiscent of the Seljuq figural style of the 12th-13th centuries practised in Iran and

---

[22] *Ibid.* 202: fn. 291.
[23] I am very grateful to assistant professor F. B. Flood, New York University, for sending me an advance copy of his paper "A Royal Drinking Scene from Alchi: Iranian Iconography in the Western Himalayas", which has now been published in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art,* edited by Robert Hillenbrand, 2005.
[24] Flood: 2005: 96.
[25] E. Sims: *Peerless Images: Persian painting and its sources* (2002).
[26] *Ibid.* 23-24.

neighbouring lands.[27] Thus, Sims has emphasised the Turkic elements in the scene, which Flood has mentioned in passing. Generally, the consensus amongst the scholars seems to be leaning towards some hybrid Central Asian origin for the iconographic elements in the mural, with each scholar also citing strong Iranian influences. Despite these suggestions, the actual source for the iconography has remained undefined. In what follows I attempt to place the mural in a more defined temporal and cultural context by re-examining its iconography and composition.

1. Drinking scenes in Ladakh

While scholars have termed "The Royal Drinking Scene" ultimately a foreign, non-Tibetan portrayal in terms of its iconography and artistic influences, the scene is not unique in the Ladakhi region. In the Mangyu Assembly Hall, dedicated to Vairocana, there is a very similar mural depicting a woman offering a cup to a man (fig. 3. 3). In Sumda there is a wall painting of a female holding a cup.[28] A similar image then crops up in the early 16th century Gonkhang, near the Namgyal Peak castle in Leh, where a mural depicts King Tashi Namgyal seated under a parasol with a long stemmed drinking vessel in his right hand[29] (fig. 3. 4). The mural is to the left of the door upon entering, and is thus in the same position as "The Royal Drinking Scene" at Alchi. Portrayals of drinking scenes contemporary with the Dukhang are not known elsewhere in Tibet, which suggests that during the 11th century they were confined to Ladakh. The 16th century depiction of King Tashi Namgyal holding rather than being offered a cup, while within the confines of Ladakh, is much later than the Alchi scene.

---

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] I would like to thank Mr. Lionel Fournier for drawing my attention to the above images. I discuss the scenes at Mangyu and Sumda below.

[29] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1980: 99, 104. Flood (2005: 90) has described the iconography of the image of Tashi Namgyal as more conventional, since the monarch is holding a goblet in his hand.

2. Literary evidence for cup offerings in Tibet

Literary evidence regarding cup rites in Tibet is also meagre, but there is a mention of a cup rite in the legendary Gesar (*Ge sar*) epic, which was compiled in its present form in relatively modern times and commented on extensively by R. A. Stein.[30] Its hero Gesar, who eventually became a king, lived in a country called Ling (*Gling*). Although the events and the personalities of the epic are not themselves historical, it is likely that they hark back to a genuine historical situation in the 11th century.[31] On the occasion of the enthronement of Gesar, his fiancée *'Brug mo* offered him an auspicious long-stemmed vessel of the *yakṣa Jambhala*, which was full of pure nectar.[32] She also offered him several scarves of different fabrics and colours.[33] Modern anthropological studies of marriage ceremonies in Ladakh have no record of women offering drinks to men, although plenty of drinking occurs during these occasions.[34] However, a study of marriage customs amongst the nomads in Rudok in western Tibet (map 2) refers to the man's parents serving wine to relatives and neighbours upon acceptance of the marriage proposal,[35] and furthermore the marriage ceremony includes a meal during which *chang* (beer) girls serve drinks to the guests.[36]

---

[30] Stein: 1959.
[31] Stein: 1959: p. 230 ff, 291 ff. Personal communication with Philip Denwood, November 2005.
[32] Stein: 1956: 137-138. The nectar consisted of beer of longevity of *Grub pa'i rgyal mo*, wine from India, alcohol made in China and barley beer from Tibet.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Phylactou: 1989. According to Phylactou (*ibid*: 162) following the choice of the bride, a series of encounters between the bride and the groom's family take place, called *chang*, or beers. The marriage is followed by feasting, singing and dancing (*ibid.* 230 ff.).
[35] Shastri: 1994: 759. Wine is also served during family discussions to set up the date for the marriage (this occasion is known as "wine for discussion").
[36] *Ibid.* 763.

3. Foundation scenes in Tibetan temples

The location of "The Royal Drinking Scene" near the entrance door is typical of so-called "foundation scenes" in Tibetan temples, which suggests the scene was painted at the time when the Dukhang was newly built.[37] Away from Ladakh, foundation scenes can be found in the temples of Spiti and Tsaparang in western Tibet. Tucci described the foundation scenes in the temple of Drangkhar in Spiti as "...paintings which seem to record scenes of events taking place at the foundation of the temple and which represent long processions of women bearing offerings"[38] (map 10; "Dankhar," highlighted in red; fig. 3. 5). Similar scenes were found depicted at the temples of Nü and Luk (maps 1a, 10; Luk, highlighted in red. Nü is slightly to the west of Luk.). At Nü, an early 17th century mural depicts a row of men and another of women on their knees, in an act of giving offerings to a huge deity, and at Luk three rows of people are portrayed, consisting of monks, laymen and women (figs.3.6; 3.7).[39]

At Tsaparang, which was an important late 15th-early 16th century monastery and temple complex in the ancient Guge kingdom, there are foundation scenes both at the White Temple and the Red Temple (map 10). The portrayal at the Red Temple follows the above examples, where the men are placed at the top and the women in the middle row (with the exception of the queen, who is depicted next to the king).

---

[37] Francke (1992: 90-1) when visiting Alchi in 1909 mentions portraits of royal families, which were located by the side of the door in a temple in Leh and in Basgo.

[38] Tucci and Ghersi: 1996: 51. They considered the mural "of great interest" for the history of costume in western Tibet. Although the date is not clear in the text, Tucci and Ghersi seemed to have thought the mural was probably 17th century (*ibid.* 51-2).

[39] *Ibid.* 105, 114. Tucci and Ghersi (*ibid.* 105) described the murals at Nü as "representing the country as it was when they [the murals] were executed," thus implying an element of realism in the portrayal. Tucci and Ghersi thought the Nü murals were probably early 17th century (*ibid.* 104), whereas of the Luk mural they write rather vaguely, "the costume of the laymen is very similar to those [sic] of the princes of Guge at Tabo" (*ibid.* 114). I am not aware of a more recent dating for these murals.

The lower row represents merchants with their goods (figs. 3. 8; 3. 9). It may be assumed that the participants in each scene depict historical figures important for that particular region. Thus, for example, the merchants in figure 3.9 illustrate Guge's position on the trade routes. The foundation scenes in Spiti and Tsaparang are all very similar in their portrayals of the people and the subject matter, which presumably implies shared regional customs, for example in the women's attire. Compared to the above, "The Royal Drinking Scene" is quite different in the depiction of its subject matter, perhaps because of its earlier 11th century date and its geographical location.

If "The Royal Drinking Scene" is regarded as a foundation scene, it is highly likely that it depicts persons who were important for the founding of the Dukhang, and therefore, the mural should be treated not as symbolic but relating to an actual event. If the wall painting shows a real event, the assumption made by Snellgrove and others that it was painted in the context of the grandeur of the Yarlung dynasty kings is not necessarily tenable. On the contrary, assuming that the mural does depict an actual event, it is likely the artists attempted to portray the persons as they were at the time of the painting and therefore, there is a strong possibility the mural is showing us a *c.* mid-11th century Ladakhi court scene. The representation of lay people in the midst of purely Buddhist murals attests to their importance in the foundation of the Dukhang, and implies too that the people portrayed in "The Royal Drinking Scene" were Buddhist. If these people were benefactors in the building of the Dukhang, it is also likely that they had a royal status.

The iconography of "The Royal Drinking Scene"

As noted above, the most comprehensive survey of the mural's iconography to date has been made by Flood, who has analysed the scene mainly in the context of post-Sasanian [Islamic] drinking scenes, and defines it as "one of the most remarkable resonances of Iranian art from the post-Sasanian period."[40] In his discussion of "The Royal Drinking Scene," Flood argues that "it is almost certain that, whatever their precise meaning, the rites depicted in the Dukhang mural formed an intrinsic part of actual court ceremonial as reflected in the art and literature of the post-Sasanian world from the Mediterranean to Central Asia."[41] Flood goes on to demonstrate the appearance of the drinking scenes in a wide geographical, temporal and cultural context. Although his art historical analysis focuses on the possible post-Sasanian Iranian [and hence Islamic] artistic and cultural contributions to "The Royal Drinking Scene," he also mentions briefly the importance of drinking rites in the court ceremony of pre-Islamic Turkic lands, and suggests that the scene in the Dukhang could be connected with the pledging of some sort of allegiance.[42] His conclusion, " it is clear that the murals of Alchi are witness to a complex artistic syncretism",[43] suggests a degree of ambiguity, and in the following, his art historical analysis will be critically examined.

In attempting to define the meaning of "The Royal Drinking Scene" and thus the iconography behind it, one should begin by emphasising the fact that the mural appears in a *Buddhist environment*, and consequently the scene should be analysed

[40] Flood: 2005: 75.
[41] *Ibid.* 93. The subject of royal drinking scenes has an ancient background. They can be found on Near Eastern seals from Sumeria dating to circa 2200 BC. In general, the ancient depictions show a king seated in profile holding a drinking vessel in his hand (Miriam Gelfer-Jorgensen: 1986: 39-42; figures 19, 20 and 21).
[42] Flood: 2005: 93. He has defined the Turkic domains as to the east of Iran.
[43] *Ibid.* 96.

in a Buddhist rather than in an Islamic context. Abbas Daneshvari, a scholar of Islamic art, has argued the following: "the image [of a cupbearer] is ubiquitous and should be considered universal or even a connate impulse that assumes *specific configurations in particular contexts.*"[44] He has also suggested that as there are many extant images of the cupbearer in the neighbouring countries of the Islamic world, the imagery is a derivation from or related to them.[45] According to Flood, the Islamic artistic influences visible in the Dukhang scene may have reached Alchi in the form of portable objects such as textiles, ceramics and metalwork.[46] His suggestion seems to imply, at least in part, that the motifs and hence the iconographic currents prevalent in the mural would have been merely transplanted from the objects to the temple by the artists, without a deeper meaning or cultural context. However, the employment of motifs in this way would render the iconography meaningless. While it is possible that the artists painted the Dukhang mural to justify an aesthetic by using patterns and motifs without any particular meaning attached to them, I would like to examine the opposite view, namely, that the scene was executed with a specific iconographic aim in mind, which was not necessarily derived, or transferred directly from the Islamic world.

1. The cup and the cupbearer in post-Sasanian and early Islamic art

Since Flood has argued that ultimately the Dukhang scene is based on Sasanian courtly iconography, it may be useful to outline here the most frequently used themes in Sasanian royal imagery. The majority of the Sasanian royal images survive in the form of silver vessels, which portray the king either hunting or

[44] Daneshvari: 2005: 110. My italics.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Flood: 2005: 96.

enthroned.[47] When the king is depicted in the act of hunting, he is recognisable by certain iconographic motifs, such as the crown, and the floating ribbons on his head and occasionally on his clothing. He is either portrayed standing or on horseback with a weapon in his hand and slaying a wild animal, for example a boar or a lion (figs. 3. 10; 3.11). The enthronement scenes show the king seated in a full frontal position, holding a weapon (a sword) in his hand (fig. 3.12).[48] The royal banquet was also a popular element of Sasanian courtly activities, where the king is shown seated in a relaxed position, surrounded by servants offering food and playing music. Sasanian royal imagery continued to be used in Islamic art, although in an iconographically distorted form.[49]

In drawing parallels to the subject matter of the Dukhang mural, Flood has used two examples to demonstrate "the context within which Iranian drinking scenes were depicted."[50] His first object is a post-Sasanian silver plate (fig. 3.13), which shows a royal person on a couch, holding a shallow drinking vessel in his left hand and a flower in his right.[51] According to Flood, the main figure's royal status is attested to by his crown, by his robe, which has a motif of a lion inside a pearl roundel, and by the genius holding a diadem and a rosette above his head.[52]

---

[47] Harper: 1981: 10. Prudence Harper has also included the image of the king as a bust enclosed in a circular frame, however, this image is not relevant to the analysis here as the portrayal is restricted and static.
[48] This scene also depicts the king hunting.
[49] Hillenbrand: 2006: 215-25. Hillenbrand (*ibid.* 225) has commented on the Sasanian royal themes found in post-Sasanian Islamic art as " the proliferation of trivial detail tended to impoverish rather than to enrich these inherited images, and sometimes the effect is (no doubt unintentionally) downright absurd."
[50] Flood: 2005: 75.
[51] *Ibid.* According to Flood, most of the depictions of "Sasanian" drinking scenes occur on metal vessels of post-Sasanian date and of problematic provenance.
[52] *Ibid.*

The iconography of this image has most recently been discussed by Robert Hillenbrand in "The Islamic re-working of the Sasanian heritage: two case studies," who has described the silver plate as "above all a transitional piece."[53] By this Hillenbrand implies that certain iconographic details of the dish are inaccurate when compared to *actual* Sasanian royal imagery. Hillenbrand points out that the king in figure 3. 13 is seated sideways on a couch, a position that emphasises his role as reveller with a cup in his hand, rather than in full frontal posture.[54] The king's frontality, which denotes his royal power, has been achieved by portraying him "staring directly outwards."[55] Amongst the details that point to the vessel's distorted, post-Sasanian iconography are "the general sense of clutter which pervades the composition,"[56] the *unrecognisable* animal inside the pearl roundel on the king's costume[57] and the crescent hanging from the chain – not a diadem-, which is carried by the winged genius.[58]

Flood's second example, a late 7th-early 8th century silver plate also depicts a ruler reclining on a couch, holding a cup and a flower in his hands[59] (fig. 3.14). Flood points out the similarities between the two metal vessels (figs. 3. 13 and 3. 14) and depictions of Sasanian court ritual, and suggests that Sasanian royal themes, such as drinking, continued into Islamic art, where "the motif of the ruler enthroned in splendour, *goblet firmly in hand*, appeared in Islamic art from at least the Abbasid

[53] Hillenbrand: 2006: 221. The dates for the dish (my fig. 3.13) vary, from very early Islamic times to the mid-11th century (*ibid.*).
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.* 224.
[57] *Ibid.* My italics.
[58] *Ibid.* 223.
[59] Prudence Harper has dated the silver plate to the 7th century and according to her, it could be post-Sasanian (in Curtis: 2000: 51).

period."[60] A 9th century Abbasid silver plate from Iran shows a king holding a wide-rimmed cup, accompanied by an attendant figure on each side (fig. 3. 15). Two musicians complement the scene, and a pair of lions occupies the lower part of the plate. A 10th century gold medal, also from Iran, depicts a king seated on a high throne and flanked by two attendants (fig. 3.16), with a pair of rather tame looking lions positioned underneath the throne. Beyond Iran and neighbouring countries, the image appeared as far away as North Africa in 10th-11th century Fatimid art.[61] A possibly 10th century Tunisian relief of a ruler holding a cup (fig. 3.17) shows the position of the king identically to the two examples above. Next to him is portrayed a figure holding a vase, or a jug.[62]

In all of the three objects cited above, the ruler is depicted in a strictly frontal posture, which emphasises his regal power. According to Hillenbrand, the portrayal of the ruler seated cross-legged on a throne can be considered to be a "fully realised Islamic image."[63] Katharina Otto-Dorn has also noted the emergence of this image during the Abbasid rule (figs. 3.15, 3.16).[64] She has further suggested that the origin of the ruler's cross-legged position is oriental or, more precisely Turkic.[65] In contrast, the Sasanian kings were normally portrayed in a sitting position (fig. 3. 12). Thus, it could be that the "fully realised Islamic image" (to quote Hillenbrand), first seen in the Abbasid objects, was derived from Turkic artistic traditions, which will be examined below.

---

[60] Flood: 2005: 75-6. My italics. The Abbasids (750-1258) were an Islamic dynasty whose power was centred in Baghdad.
[61] The Fatimids (909-1171) mainly ruled in Egypt, although they also conquered Tunisia and Sicily. I am grateful to Professor Doris Behrens-Abouseif, SOAS, for advising me on the Fatimid drinking images.
[62] The text describes the accompanying figure as a musician.
[63] Hillenbrand: 2006: 221.
[64] Otto-Dorn: 1961-62: 5ff; 1967: 82-3.
[65] Otto-Dorn: 1967: *ibid.* She considers a 5th-6th century rock drawing from Mongolia to be the first representation of the "Turkic position" (illustrated in Otto-Dorn: 1967: fig. 29, p. 83).

The examples discussed above, however apt in demonstrating the image of royal power in Islamic art, differ significantly from the Dukhang mural, most notably regarding the male central figure *who does not hold a cup but instead is being offered one* by the woman to his left (fig. 3.2). Therefore, the motif of a ruler holding a cup does not apply to the Dukhang scene, but rather the iconographic significance seems to rest *on the woman offering the cup.* The absence of the cup in the hand of the central figure is further emphasised by the man on the right, who already holds a cup. The Dukhang scene is also lacking in certain other iconographic details when compared to the post-Sasanian examples cited by Flood. The flower or branch, which is part of the composition in Sasanian and many post-Sasanian "drinking scenes" (see fig. 3.13), does not feature in the Dukhang mural.

A rare 6th-7th century Sasanian pottery amphora excavated in a Buddhist stupa in Merv depicts a woman seated next to a man holding a flower and a goblet[66] (fig. 3. 18; map 9). In addition to the feasting couple, the amphora also has scenes of hunting, death and a funeral procession, which according to Boris Marshak, "exemplify an early medieval Iranian life well-lived,"[67] and thus the flower and the cup in this instance may not have a royal connection. According to Daneshvari, who has analysed the iconography of the cup and the branch in Islamic art, "the branch and the wine image was a popular and meaningful feature of the ruler's appearance during the new year and investiture ceremonies."[68] As the cup appears

[66] Carter: 1974: 191. Carter has described the flower as a wand (?). Loukonine & Ivanov: 2003: 91. According to Vladimir Loukonine (*ibid.*), the images on the vessel are an extremely rare example of Sasanian painting.
[67] Sims: 2002: 114.
[68] Daneshvari: 2005: 113. Daneshvari (*ibid.* 112) has noted that the image of a figure with a cup in one hand and a branch in the other originates from pre-Islamic Central Asia and Sasanian Iran. The image also appears on Islamic vessels from the 9th to 12th centuries (see *ibid,* pp. 103-9, 113). Martha L. Carter (1974) has also discussed princely festive scenes depicted on Sasanian metal ware, and described them as representing the Iranian New Year, *Norouz.*

without the branch in the Dukhang scene, one can hardly place it in the Sasanian derived cultural context.

2. The Sogdian and Hephthalite murals

Sogdian and Hephthalite mural paintings have been mentioned in connection with both the cup rite and the drinking scene in the Dukhang.[69] The *c.*mid-8th century mural from Panjikent, east of Samarqand in today's Tajikistan (map 9; Penjikend) shows two Sogdian merchants seated cross-legged, one of whom is holding a wide cup and a wand in his hand, while the other holds only a drinking vessel (fig. 3. 19). The two objects, the cup and the branch, which are portrayed together in the same mural, are reminiscent of the post-Sasanian depictions of the Iranian New Year, *Norouz*. While Turks were members of the Sogdian ruling class from the 6th to 8th century, Sogdiana was largely influenced by Iranian cultural elements, including an eastern Iranian language and the practice of Zoroastrianism.[70] The late 6th-early 7th century Hephthalite murals from Balalyk-tepe, south of Afrasiab in today's Uzbekistan (map 4) portray aristocratic men seated cross-legged holding cups of different sizes and perhaps ceremonial objects (wands with a round top) in their hands (fig. 3.20).[71]

Both the Sogdian and Hephthalite murals depict cup offerings with striking similarities, and thus it seems likely they are referring to a ceremony inspired by the Iranian cultural world. It may also be noted that the man on the Sasanian vessel in

[69] Flood 2005: 84, 86; Papa-Kalantari: 2007.
[70] Marshak: 2001: 234.
[71] The first references to the Hephthalites are from the mid-5th century in eastern Tokharestan. Eventually they ruled over the whole of Tokharestan, the Pamirs, large parts of Afghanistan and Eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Khotan). They invaded Soghd, capital of Sogdiana in 509. Although they lost much of their territory to the Sasanians, they retained control of small principalities in southern Tajikistan and Afghanistan for a long time (Litvinsky: 1996b: 135-44).

figure 3.18 holds a wand-type object in his right hand, which corresponds to those held by the men in the above Sogdian and Hephthalite examples. The male costumes in figure 3.19 have padded shoulders, round collars and a detail in the front of the robe, which suggests the costumes were of Sasanian origin (fig. 3.18). Thus it appears that the Sogdians and the Hephthalites were influenced by Sasanian culture.

Christiane Papa-Kalantari has argued that the Balalyk-tepe murals (fig. 3.20) demonstrate how strongly the Dukhang mural is reminiscent of the Central Asian type.[72] The term "Central Asian" can perhaps be understood to refer here more specifically to the region of western Central Asia (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan). Iconographically the murals in the Dukhang and Balalyk-tepe portray quite a different subject matter. Men holding cups rather than being offered them and the lack of women in the Hephthalite murals form the most notable differences when they are compared to the Dukhang scene. The murals are also remote from each other, both geographically and temporally. If comparisons were to be made, similarities might perhaps be seen in the compositional elements of grouping the people and in the detailed portrayal of the patterns on the costumes.

Snellgrove and others have defined the central figure as a king in "The Royal Drinking Scene," but the absence of the cup and the position of his head, which is clearly turned towards the female and not even "portrayed staring directly outwards" (to quote Hillenbrand) are in clear contrast to the Sasanian and Islamic portrayals of kings. It is untenable, therefore, to place "The Royal Drinking Scene"

[72] Papa-Kalantari: 2007: 175. Although postulating a connection between the mural paintings at Alchi and in Balalyk-tepe, she does not suggest " a direct genetic link with Alchi" (*ibid.* 174).

within the confines of a well-established iconography in which Islamic artistic imagery drew on Sasanian dynastic arts albeit at times in somewhat distorted fashion. While scholars have noted the presence of the female in the Dukhang mural, they have paid more attention to the cup as a royal male emblem rather than attempted to analyse the female's position as the holder of the cup. Clearly, the iconographic omissions in the Dukhang scene are simply too significant when compared to the Sasanian *and* post-Sasanian examples cited above, and therefore the cultural context of the mural should be determined outside these parameters.

3. Turkic influence

While Flood has emphasised Islamic influences in the Dukhang mural, he has also briefly mentioned possible Turkic connections in the mural, by referring to the Mongolian *balbals* (funerary statues) (figs. 3. 21, 3. 22) and a carving on a stone stele commemorating the Kök Turk Bilge Qagan (fig. 3. 23) as images of a ruler holding a cup from pre-Islamic Turkic lands.[73] Flood has not, however, specified the Turkic influences in the Dukhang mural. Sims, on the other hand, has described the costume and the hairstyle in the Dukhang scene as Turkic, and more specifically Seljuq. The Seljuqs (*c.*1038-1198) were a Turko-Islamic dynasty, based in Khorasan and other areas of Iran but who nominally ruled over several Turkic groups in western Central Asia and Xinjiang (maps 12 and 16; borders of the Seljuk vassals in green).[74] Thus while both Flood and Sims note Turkic influences in the

[73] Flood: 2005: 76. Kök Turks refer to the second eastern Turkish kingdom (682-742 AD). Although the image in figure 3. 23 is referred to by Flood and Esin (1969) as a stone relief on a sarcophagus, it is actually a stone stele (see Sinor and Klyashtorny: 1996, fig.3). The image in figure 3.23 will be discussed below.

[74] The Seljuqs were members of the Turkic tribal confederation known as the Oghuz (Pancaroğlu: 2005: 73).

Dukhang mural, they have not discussed the differences between the Turkic and non-Turkic aspects in the scene.

According to Hillenbrand, in the art of early Islamic Iran two independent types of processes can be distinguished: the gradual decay and transformation of the Sasanian modes, and the evolution of new forms of art with no Sasanian influence, which includes Turkic and steppe art.[75] The art of steppe origin can be understood to denote non-urban, nomad Turkic art. The previously discussed *balbals* and the funerary stele can be classified as steppe artefacts (figs. 3. 21, 3. 22, 3. 23). Otto-Dorn notes that Turkic artistic representation includes sumptuous costumes, belts with hanging straps and the specific attributes by which the role of a particular individual can be determined.[76] Despite the gradual Islamisation of the Turkic tribes, which began around the mid-10th century, their art retained the specific features of their pre-Islamic past. Most of the surviving Turko-Islamic art before the mid-13th century can be classified as Seljuq.

The Turkic influx began with the spread of Islam eastwards, which brought the Arabs into contact with the Turks and their traditions. The early Abbasids (centred in Baghdad and Samarra) recruited Central Asian Turks as slave soldiers, and by the 11th century the core of most eastern Islamic armies was built on Turkic slaves.[77] Thus the Islamic caliphate was bolstered by a large Turkic component from quite early on, which was further intensified from the late 10th century

[75] Hillenbrand: 2006: 217.
[76] Otto-Dorn: 1967: 81. For example, in the 9th century mural in the Abbasid capital of Samarra (Iraq), a man carrying a gazelle on his shoulders can be deemed as a hunter. A falconer is another important image in Turkic art (*ibid.* 82).
[77] Bosworth: 1963: 99-100. I would like to thank Professor Doris Behrens-Abouseif, SOAS for discussing aspects of Turkic influence on Islamic arts with me.

onwards when the first Turko-Islamic dynasties, the Ghaznavids (977-1186) and the Qarakhanids (*c*.992-1212) appeared on the historical scene.[78] Before discussing the Turkic artistic aspect in more detail, it may be useful to outline the history of the Turks in relation to Central Asia (defined in the following discussion as Xinjiang, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan).

(i) Early history of the Turks

The Turks appeared in the recorded history of China during the mid-6th century, when a people bearing the name Turk established ties with the Chinese Western Wei Dynasty (535-57).[79] The name "Türk" is an ethnonym, which denotes a people speaking a Turkic-language.[80] It is thought that the Turks originated from the enormous Mongolian steppes, and were nomads, who travelled great distances in search of pasture and water. The Chinese regarded them as barbarians, and their raids on sedentary populations were greatly feared. The Turks expanded rapidly into the western Eurasian steppe lands, and established contact with Iran and the Byzantine Empire.[81] The Turk empire (522-740s) consisted of the Eastern Turk qaghanate (552-630 AD and 682-742 AD) and the Western Turk qaghanate (552-659 AD and 699-740s) (map 11).[82] The Eastern qaghanate was based in today's Mongolia and also included the Northern Silk Road, while the Western qaghanate was further to the west in today's Kazakhstan. The fact that the two qaghanates covered such a vast geographical area ensured that the Turks came into contact with

[78] Bosworth (*ibid*: 205) has noted that eventually rulers of Turkish origin were found as far away from their homeland [Inner Asia] as Algeria and Bengal.
[79] Golden: 2005:20.
[80] Sinor: 1990: 285. According to Sinor, these Turks were the first people to whom can be attributed with certainty a Turkic text written in a Turkic language. Their name cannot be traced before the 6th century AD.
[81] Golden: 2005: 20-1.
[82] *Ibid.*

different cultures. As Peter Golden has noted, the Turk state was a multi-lingual, polyethnic mix of nomadic and semi-nomadic people.[83] The Western qaghanate, by the virtue of its geographical location was closer to the Iranian (in the 6th century, Sasanian) cultural sphere.[84] The Eastern Turk qaghanate had a control over the Silk Road trade. The Turks came into contact with Sogdian merchants, who introduced them to Buddhism, Manichaeism, Christianity and Mazdaism.[85]

After the collapse of the second Eastern Turk qaghanate, the Uygurs (a Turkic tribal union) took control (map 11).[86] In 762, the Uygur qaghan Bögü adopted Manichaeism, and the Uygurs also patronised Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity.[87] The Uygur qaghanate formed alliances with the Oghuz and Qarlug sub-groups, but they were unable to defeat the Qirkhiz and thus lost their qaghanate in 840.[88] By this time different Turkic groups had taken up permanent residence in the region of Xinjiang.

To sum up, we see a wide geographical expansion in a short space of time, enabling the Turks to make contact with different cultures. The relationship between the nomadic and sedentary societies was not necessarily one-way as the Turks also left their imprint on the cultural landscape of Inner Asia. However, contacts with the sedentary peoples, many of whom were subjects of the Turks inevitably created

---

[83] *Ibid.* 21.
[84] *Ibid.* 22. The Turks of the Western qaghanate were allies of the Byzantine Empire and jointly defeated the Sasanians in 628 AD.
[85] *Ibid.* Golden notes that while the Turk qaghans were interested in Buddhism, there was resistance to convert to a religion practised outside nomad societies. The cult of Heaven and Earth, and veneration of ancestors were the focus of the Turks' religion (Klimkeit: 1990: 53). There is no evidence of large scale conversion to Buddhism amongst the Turks of the Western and Eastern qaghanate (*ibid*, 53-4 ff.).
[86] Golden: 2005: 22.
[87] *Ibid.* The Uygurs were Manichaean until the early 11th century, when they became Buddhist (Gulacsi: 2001: 4).
[88] Golden: 2005: 22-3.

conflict between the two very different groups.[89] The Turk qaghanates themselves, especially the eastern one, consisted of many different Turkic tribal groups, who attempted to gain supremacy over each other during the centuries. From the late 10th century onwards, the rise of Turko-Islamic dynasties was a defining feature in the politics and culture of Central Asia.

4. The cup and the cupbearer in Turkic and Turko-Islamic art

The late Emel Esin, an eminent scholar in Turkish art and history, analysed cup rites in her article " *'And'*: The Cup Rites in Inner-Asian and Turkish Art," and according to her, " in historical texts, as well as in art works, the depiction of the Turkish cup rites appear [sic] to bear the imprint of several convergent traditions, from India, from the Iranian Central Asian area, from China and mainly from the ancestral Inner-Asian nomadic world."[90] Although Esin demonstrated the ancient and varied nature of cup rites, citing festive cup rites from the 7th century BC amongst the Eurasian nomad population,[91] her focus was largely on the Central Asian Turks from the 6th century AD onwards. According to her, vows of allegiance with rites of the cup were to be repeated in Turkic art and in the arts of peoples under the dominion of Turkic dynasties.[92] Esin thus postulated a pre-Islamic Turkic origin for cup rites, which continued to be performed despite the Turks' Islamisation.

Esin supported her argument mainly by textual evidence, and with a few art historical examples and accordingly she noted several types of cup rites amongst

[89] *Ibid.* 22. A *c.*mid-8th century runic inscription on the Orkhon River in Mongolia tells of the constant warfare against neighbours and resisting subjects.
[90] Esin: 1969: 224.
[91] *Ibid.* 226.
[92] Esin 1970: 90. Esin: 1981.

the Turks. One of the most common types was a festive cup rite, where the drinking was associated with a banquet, which often took place after hunting. Cup rites were also performed at the oath of allegiance ceremonies, at funeral feasts and on occasions of investiture. All the known cup rites were centred on a qaghan (the ruler in Turkic), and thus the cup rites, whatever their exact nature had a royal function. Esin's findings will be examined and expanded below, firstly by summing up her textual sources and then continuing with the art historical evidence

(i) Textual evidence for Turkic and Turko-Islamic cup rites

For the period between the 10th and the 13th centuries, much of Esin's discussion on Turkic cup rites is based on the written sources of the Oghuz and the Qarakhanids. Both were originally non-Muslim Turkic tribes, who converted to Islam after migrating towards western Central Asia where they came into contact with the local Muslim population. From the 9th to the 11th century, the Oghuz confederation of nomadic Turkic tribes lived in western Central Asia and in today's Kazakhstan[93] (map 15). The Oghuz traditions are recorded in the epic *Dede Korkut*, which, although compiled in the early part of the 15th century, is based on a much earlier pre-Islamic oral tradition of the Oghuz. According to Geoffrey Lewis, who translated the epic into English, the stories took place in 8th to 11th century Central Asia when the Oghuz were struggling against two other Turkic tribes, the Pecheneks and the Qipchaks (map 15).[94] The epic portrays a pastoral society, whose main characters are aristocratic.[95] There are several references in the text to drinking related activity; the feast, where wine was served and nobles entertained[96]

[93] Agajanov: 1998: 66. The Oghuz principality collapsed in the middle of the 11th century (*ibid.* 69).
[94] Lewis: 1974: 18.
[95] *Ibid.* 10.
[96] *Ibid.* 27, 50-51, 90.

often took place before or after the hunt,[97] and was also performed on the occasions of marriage, funeral or defeating the enemy.[98] The descriptions of the feast also include drinking paraphernalia such as golden goblets and ewers, and great-mouthed wine jars and vats.[99]

There are many references to female cupbearers in *Dede Korkut,* where they are described as "infidel [not Muslim] maidens, hair plaited behind them, their hands dyed with henna from the wrists down, their fingers adorned with henna pattern."[100] The female cupbearers' role was to serve the Oghuz nobles cups of wine to drink.[101] The women's low status can perhaps be detected from the following episode, where the king, hostile to the Oghuz suggests that the wife of the Oghuz Kazan should be made the enemy's cupbearer "to bring shame on the Kazan."[102] This and the description of the female cupbearers as infidel seem to indicate that amongst the Oghuz and their rival tribes, it was the captured women, who were not Muslim that were used as cupbearers. Presumably before the Oghuz converted to Islam, the female cupbearers were also those captured during tribal strife. According to textual evidence, the Seljuqs had Chigil women as cupbearers, who were referred to as "beauties."[103] This also seems to refer to captured women. Later Turkic textual references include a 14th century description of a Turkish princess

---

[97] *Ibid.* 33, 90, 95, 171. The men drank the wine, which is described as red and strong (*ibid.* 38, 42, 121, 133).
[98] *Ibid:* references to marriage feasts: p. 69 ("feasting in a marriage tent"), p. 132 (" a wedding banquet"), pp.164, 170. A defeat of the enemy: p.57 (" seven days and nights' feast and a banquet"). Funeral: p. 101. Feasting was also noted in connection with the Ladakhi marriage ceremony (see page 91 above).
[99] *Ibid.* 42, 88. The text says "golden goblets and ewers were ranged in rows" at the gathering of the Oghuz (p. 88).
[100] *Ibid.* 42. In another reference to the female cupbearers, the infidel girls were described as "lovely of face, black eye, ...their fingers were tattooed" (*ibid.* 88).
[101] *Ibid.* 42. On another occasion, the girls were "circulating the red wine in golden goblets among the nobles of the teeming Oghuz"(*ibid.* 88).
[102] *Ibid.* 50-51.
[103] Sussheim: 1909: 24. I am grateful to Maryam Mafi for translating the Persian original.

offering a cup in conjugal homage to her husband, and the offering of a cup by a bride to her groom in Anatolian weddings.[104] The role of the women offering beer in modern Rudok marriage ceremony has been noted in connection with cup offerings in Tibet, which suggests that in the past Tibetan nomads could have also had female, Tibetan cupbearers on special occasions.

The Turko-Islamic Qarakhanids ruled over several Turkic tribes,[105] and the Qarakhanid power stretched geographically from the Oxus River (today's Amu Darya in Turkmenistan) to Xinjiang[106] (map 16). The main textual source for the Qarakhanid period is *Kutadgu Bilig*, or "Wisdom of Royal Glory", which was written in 1069 AD in Kashgar. It is the oldest work of Islamic Turkic literature,[107] and was written for princes as an advice on how to rule. According to Robert Dankoff, who translated the work into English, *Kutadgu Bilig* is an attempt to combine two different (wisdom) traditions, the Turkish Inner Asian and Irano-Islamic.[108] Despite their conversion to Islam, the Qarakhanids had preserved the Inner Asian traditions of tribal aristocracy and patronised Turkic rather than Iranian culture.[109] As the Turcologist Yuri Karev has noted, despite being theoretical in genre the *Kutadgu Bilig* reflects important elements of Turkic court hierarchy and ceremony.[110]

---

[104] Esin: 1969: 251-52, 256. Esin (*ibid*: 244) suggested that generally the gesture of offering a cup signified servitude.
[105] According to Peter Golden (2005: 25), the Qarakhanid dynasty ruled over the Qarlug, Chigil, Yaghma and other tribes. See the position of the Qarlug, Chigil and Yaghma in the 10th-11th centuries in map 15.
[106] Pancaroğlu: 2005: 73. According to Pancaroğlu and others, the vast area under the Qarakhanid control was ruled as a decentralised confederation of tribal groupings.
[107] Dankoff: 1983:1-2.
[108] *Ibid.*4.
[109] *Ibid.* The Ghaznavids and the Seljuqs patronised Iranian culture, while the Qarakhanids cultivated Turkic language and continued to use the non-Arabic Uygur script. They also kept customs from their pre-Islamic past (Dankoff: 1992: 83-4).
[110] Karev: 2005: 72.

Different types of feasts were part of the Turkic ceremonies, and the *Kutadgu Bilig* contains advice on the etiquette of inviting and going to feasts, and many warnings concerning the excessive consumption of wine.[111] Qarakhanid feasts were performed on the occasions of weddings, the birth of a son and funerals, and they could also take place amongst peers and friends, and when titles of rank were granted,[112] and in this respect were similar in character to the Oghuz feasts described in *Dede Korkut. Kutadgu Bilig* also describes the qualifications of a cupbearer, who should be male and whose duties include not only serving the drinks but also the mixing of medicaments.[113] When compared to the Oghuz tradition, the Qarakhanids' attitude, at least in formal court situations, seemed to have been more restricted towards drinking although it was not banished altogether.[114] This was probably due to the Qarakhanids' position as the first Turkic tribe to convert to Islam, and thus the upper echelons perhaps felt that, at least in public functions, they should exercise restraint with regards to the drinking of alcohol.

Another Qarakhanid work, an 11th century Turkish lexicon *Diwan Lugat at-Turk,* was written by Mahmud Kashgari, whose work explained the language and the customs of the Turkic tribespeople.[115] Dankoff, who translated and extensively

---

[111] Dankoff: 1983: 189-93. The drinks to be served at feasts were non-alcoholic, such as a sweet beverage, table-water or rose water julep (*ibid.* 192). Drinking too much wine was frowned upon, for example, "when princes of the world enjoy sweet wine, their lands and subjects suffer bitter ills" (*ibid.* 108), "wine is an enemy to wisdom and to intellect" (*ibid.* 127). Robert Devereux (1966: 113) has noted that wine was used at the Qarakhanid court, although alcohol is prohibited in Islam.

[112] Dankoff: 1983: 189-90.

[113] *Ibid.* 135-36. The apprentices of the cupbearer should be "beardless boys with faces like full moons" *(ibid.* 136). As noted by Esin (1969: 237) one of the tasks of the cupbearer was also to serve wine. See Dankoff: 1983: 135.

[114] According to Esin (1969: 237), the Qarakhanids renounced festive cup rites [after converting to Islam], but she also noted that their literature has many details "on the use of cups, on the categories of wines and on oaths of allegiance".

[115] According to Dankoff (1975: 68), the work was written during the time when the Turkic people were dominant in the Muslim world, but had yet to become fully Islamic. It is possible that the

commented on Kashgari's work, has expressed the view that certain Turkic traditions were pre-Islamic [pagan], whereby these "pre-Islamic notions survive most vividly in the categories of festivals, sacrifices and feasts."[116] For example, during festival days hunting took place and booty was displayed.[117] Types of feasts noted by Kashgari included "a night drinking party for uninvited guests" and marriage and funeral feasts.[118] The tone in Kashgari's work towards drinking seems to be more relaxed than that in the *Kutadgu Bilig*, perhaps because the latter was written as a manual of ideal behaviour for princes.

The above textual evidence points to the continuation of the cup rites amongst the Muslim Turks, which in turn implies that the tradition was established well before the Turks began their migration towards Xinjiang and the western parts of Central Asia, and their subsequent conversion to Islam. Most of the written references to the role of the women as cupbearers are attested in *Dede Korkut*, which, although Islamic, was based on a pre-Islamic Turkic oral tradition The Seljuqs also seemingly had women cupbearers. The textual evidence in the Turko-Islamic *Kutadgu-Bilig* refers to male cupbearers only.[119] This suggests that women cupbearers did exist in the Turkic tradition, and that this tradition continued amongst *some* of the Islamised Turks. The women's role as cupbearers was seemingly performed in certain cup rites, for example, in marriages and feasts. Karev has noted, "The organization of the ceremonial of the [different] Turkic dynasties must have had similar characteristics and not have differed

---

lexicon was written to explain the Turkic language and customs to the Abbasid court, which at the time was under Seljuq rule (*ibid.*).
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] *Ibid.* 69.
[118] *Ibid.* 72.
[119] Dankoff: 1983: 135-37.

considerably."[120] He also states that "while the symbols and ceremonies might change, becoming more sophisticated, the main framework remained the same."[121] In other words, the ancient ceremonies changed little in their basic format and function over the centuries, which would have ensured familiarity and perhaps more importantly, continuity in any given ritual.

(ii) Textual evidence for Mongol cup rites

The popularity of drinking rituals is also attested in later, 13th-14th century written descriptions of Mongol court ceremonies.[122] Devin DeWeese has noted that Mongol libations were not only common in festivals of ancestor worship, enthronements and funerals, but were most likely to have accompanied virtually all court ceremonies with feasting and drinking.[123] Thus, the Mongol rites clearly echo the previously discussed Turkic traditions, which suggest the former originated from ancient Inner Asian practices.[124] Furthermore, DeWeese notes that the libation ritual and the court ceremonial were combined in actual practice.[125] The descriptions of Mongol ceremonies contain details of protocol such as seating arrangements, the order of drinking, and the prostrations practised in rising and kneeling to the khan.[126] The court rituals also had "lords" or "barons," who served the guests and supervised etiquette.[127]

---

[120] Karev: 2005: 73.
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] DeWeese: 1994: 221-25.
[123] *Ibid.* 221. According to DeWeese, the libation drink was kumiss [a drink made from fermented mare's or other milk].
[124] See above discussion on *Dede Korkut*; Dankoff: 1975: 68, Dankoff: 1983. DeWeese (1994: 226) notes that the 17th century Uzbek drinking ceremony also reflected pre-Islamic steppe customs.
[125] DeWeese: 1994: 222.
[126] *Ibid.* 223.
[127] *Ibid.*

Mongol period written sources also have information regarding the hierarchy of the different members participating in the court ceremonies. The Franciscan friar, William of Rubruck, who travelled through the Mongol empire in the mid-13th century, described an assembly at the Mongol court, where the khan was seated in an elevated position at the northern end of the palace.[128] The men were placed to the right and the women to the left of the khan; the men and women closest to the khan were his son and brothers, and wives and daughters, respectively.[129] However, only one wife occupied the place next to the khan, and her position was slightly lower than his.[130] The cupbearer was positioned between the two staircases that led to the khan's elevated seat, and his role was to take the cup up to the ruler.[131] The above description demonstrates a pre-determined order in the court, where each participant had a specific position relative to the khan, who was the central figure placed above the others, both physically and in terms of rank.

Mongol enthronement ceremonies were also frequently described in textual sources.[132] The authors particularly commented on the elevation stage of the enthronement ritual on which the khan was placed upon a felt rug and raised off the ground by male members of the court.[133] The ritual had ancient roots in Inner Asia, where its earliest description dates from the 6th century AD.[134] In the 14th century

---

[128] Jackson: 1990: 210.
[129] *Ibid.* 210-11. The close family of the khan was seated on raised pews.
[130] *Ibid.* 211.
[131] *Ibid.* 210.
[132] Sela: 2003: 1. I am grateful to Ms Nada Chaldecott, London for the reference to Sela's text.
[133] *Ibid.*
[134] *Ibid.* 25. The elevation ritual was the most commented upon by foreign authors, who were missionaries or travellers to the Mongol empire. The reasons for the lack of indigenous sources describing the ritual are not known, but could reflect reluctance on the part of the Islamic historians to report a pagan practice (*ibid.* 39). DeWeese (1994: 7) has defined Inner Asia geographically as consisting of Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang, the former Soviet republics of Central Asia [Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan] and substantial portions of Siberia and European Russia, within the Russian Federation.

inauguration of Qubilai Khan's grandson Haishan, the new khan is given a goblet of wine once he is seated on the throne.[135] Thus in the final stage of the enthronement ritual the new ruler holds a cup. While the elevation ceremony continued to be practised in the post-Mongol period, the Muslim authors never mentioned its ancient Inner Asian, pre-Mongol origin but instead traced it back only to the Mongol conquest [the 13th century].[136] Sela has noted the absence of women in literary sources describing inauguration ceremonies from the 16th century onwards, which according to him could have been due to the growing Islamisation of Central Asia and to the sedentarisation process, factors that may have diminished the traditional role of women in a nomadic society.[137]

Sela has also remarked on the absence of representation of the inauguration ceremony in any other media outside written sources, and has argued that, "even paintings that illustrate an 'enthronement' scene usually show *the new ruler already sitting on the throne.*"[138] Therefore, the most important and frequently portrayed part of the libation ritual was the final stage, i.e. when the status of the ruler had been confirmed. The art historical evidence for the above textual references to cup rites will be examined in the next section.

(iii) The image of the cup in pre-Islamic Turkic art

Esin's art historical discussion of images of cup holding can be divided into two categories. The first one consists of a king, or a central figure in the composition holding a cup, and the second comprises of a cup being offered to the king, or to the

[135] Sela: 2003: 31-2. "... two led the monarch by his arms and installed him on the throne of excellence, and the last one presented him with the goblet of wine, as brilliant as the sun."
[136] *Ibid.* 26,55.
[137] *Ibid.* 41.
[138] *Ibid.* 56. My italics.

central figure. In both categories, the king is frequently, but not always, depicted seated in a strictly frontal position either on his own or flanked by attendant figures. The earliest known pre-Islamic Turkic pictorial example of a ruler holding a cup is the previously mentioned Kök Turk funerary stone stele from Mongolia (fig. 3.23), which depicts Bilge Qagan, the king of the Turks (died 734 AD) and his two attendants holding drinking vessels. According to Esin, this image had a ritual significance and it formed a prototype for the Turkic representations of the monarch,[139] showing him frontally, seated with folded legs and crossed ankles in a position known as *bagdas*.[140]

The other Kök Turk images found in funerary sites are stone statues or *balbals* of either kneeling or standing Turkic cupbearers (figs. 3.21, 3.22). A 6th century Sogdian funerary couch, made in northern China depicts a Turk and a woman, each holding a drinking vessel in front of his yurt (fig. 3.24).[141] The role of the cups seems to be purely recreational, as the couple is watching a dance performance. All the above Turkic examples have a funerary character.

(iv)The image of the king holding a cup in Turko-Islamic art

While figures 3.15, 3.16 and 3.17 are amongst the earliest known *Islamic* images of the sovereign holding a cup -although manifesting Turkic influences in the sitting position of the figure- the following post-10th century objects may be classified as Turko-Islamic. The majority date from the Seljuq era. A mid-11th century silver dish from Iran depicts a seated central figure holding a cup and a napkin, flanked by

[139] Esin: 1969: 232. As noted previously on page 98, fn. 65, Otto-Dorn (1967: 83) has referred to a 5th-6th century rock drawing in Mongolia as the first representation of the Turkic posture.
[140] Esin: 1970/71: 11.
[141] Whitfield: 2004: 112-13.

two attendants, one of whom has a flywhisk in his hand[142] (fig. 3.25). A pair of lions faces each other under the seated figure. An 11th century ceramic dish, also from Iran has a seated man holding a tall glass in his hand (fig. 3.26). A slightly later, 13th century Seljuq bronze bowl (fig. 3.27) depicts a centrally seated man holding a cup with an attendant figure on either side. One of the attendants is also carrying a cup, while a beak-spouted ewer and a fruit bowl are shown on the ground.[143] According to Otto-Dorn, figure 3.27 is a typical depiction of the Seljuq period throne scene, where the emblems of the cross-legged sovereign seated on a throne are the cup and the napkin, or the handkerchief.[144] The number of attendants can vary from two (one on either side of the monarch) to four or the scene can consist of a large group of people around the king.[145] As the Seljuqs controlled a huge geographical area, the image of a seated ruler holding a cup flanked by attendants was widely spread during their period of hegemony, which is defined *culturally* rather than politically as extending from 1050 until 1250 (maps 12 and 16).[146]

After the collapse of the political Great Seljuq state (1038-1194), the image continued to be portrayed in the regions, which had been under Seljuq control. The popularity of the image outside Iran is aptly demonstrated by a late 12th century manuscript illustration from Iraq, which depicts a seated ruler holding a tall drinking vessel in his hand and who is flanked by "a large group of people" (fig.

[142] Ettinghausen and Grabar (1987: 236) have noted that the turban represents a turning point from the traditional crown of Sasanian type.
[143] Otto-Dorn (1956) has dated the bowl to the 13th century. She describes the other attendant as carrying a pomegranate.
[144] *Ibid.* According to Jean-Paul Roux (1982: 85), the napkin/handkerchief is a sign of refinement, but it is not obligatory and thus not always visible. Sometimes the napkin is confused with the fold of the garment. In the Seljuq example under discussion, the napkin is not clearly visible.
[145] Otto-Dorn (1956). These are the three schemes seen in Seljuq throne scenes. The large group of people can include soldiers.
[146] Pancaroğlu: 2005: 74.

3.28).[147] Despite the references to cup rites in extant Qarakhanid literature, there is no clear surviving Qarakhanid art historical material to illustrate the motif of the ruler holding a cup.[148] Most of the available art historical evidence attests to the image's popularity in the Seljuq context. This seems to suggest that the Seljuqs, originally a sub-group of the Oghuz, were instrumental in ensuring that the image of the sovereign cupbearer continued to be perpetrated in various artistic media. The Oghuz traditions, as recorded in *Dede Korkut* had involved cup rites in the steppe zone, and it seems these continued to be part of Seljuq customs. The longevity and wide spread geographical diffusion of the image attest to its strong symbolism. These Turko-Islamic images (figs. 3. 25 to 3. 28) represent the final phase of the enthronement ritual, and thus confirm Sela's suggestion that most such enthronement scenes, when illustrated, show the ruler seated on a throne. Significantly, the artists portrayed the ruler holding a cup in this final stage, which further emphasises the sovereign power.

(v) The image of male and female cup bearers in Turkic and Turko-Islamic art

The second category is that of the cup being offered to the king, or the central figure, where the person offering the cup is usually a man. The visual evidence in this category is somewhat sparse when compared to the many examples of the sovereign holding a cup. Esin referred to a 6th-7th century pre-Islamic drawing

[147] The geographical diffusion of the image is further demonstrated by the following examples: A mid-13th century metal incense burner from Syria depicts a cross-legged sovereign seated on a throne holding a tall drinking vessel (Roxburgh: 2005: fig. 46, p. 90). A 13th century metal dish from Iraq or Syria, which has a seated ruler holding a cup and flanked by two attendants ("L'Orient de Saladin," 2001, p. 128). A 14th century Mamluk period drawing from Egypt portrays an enthroned prince, who holds a cup and a napkin, thereby attesting to the longevity of the image (Talbot Rice: 1996: fig. 142, p. 143).

[148] Late 12th-early 13th century Qarakhanid murals have recently been excavated in Samarqand (Karev: 2005) (map 11). The largest mural, albeit very fragmented, shows a Turkic warrior holding a bow and arrow. Other mural fragments depict, for example, a hunting dog and decorative patterns. Esin (1969: fig. 12C, p. 245) cited a Qarakhanid bronze engraving of a man in *bagdas* holding a cup; however the image is very unclear and has not been included here.

found in Astana in Turfan on the Northern Silk Road, which depicts a seated dignitary who is being offered a cup by a page[149] (fig. 3.29; map 4). Astana was part of the Eastern Türk qaghanate until the 8th century (map 11) and thus the drawing could have been influenced by Turkic traditions.

An early 11th century silver-gilt bowl from eastern Iran or Khorasan depicts a centrally seated man in *bagdas*, who is flanked on either side by a male attendant (fig. 3.30). An attendant on the left offers him a cup, while the right hand attendant holds a flower.[150] Iconographically the flower, or branch and the cup seem to reflect earlier Sasanian traditions, although neither of these objects is held by the seated central figure himself (figs. 3.13, 3.14, 3.18). A similar theme can be found on a 12th-13th century Seljuq casket, where a male attendant is offering a cup to a frontally seated individual, who holds a flower in his left hand[151] (fig. 3.31). An 11th-12th century Qarakhanid stone mould found in Samarqand depicts an attendant kneeling in front of a table, holding a jug and a rider, who may possibly be holding a cup in his hand (fig. 3.32).[152]

A rare depiction of a man offering a cup to a woman is copied in a later, mid-14th century, manuscript frontispiece entitled "Enthroned Couple," compiled during the

[149] Esin: 1969: 229 (fig. 1B, p. 228).
[150] The bowl is in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia. The dating of the bowl is disputed: it has been dated to the 10th-11th century by Shepherd (1974), to the 9th century by Marthe Bernus-Taylor for the exhibition catalogue *Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire* (2002) and to the 11th century by Boris Marshak (in Loukonine & Ivanov: 2003: 104).
[151] Flood: 2005: fig. 16, p. 87.
[152] Esin (1969: fig. 11D, p. 241) has not described the object held by the attendant, but it seems to resemble a long necked narrow jug. According to Esin, the boy wears a military page's hat. As to the "cup" in the rider's hand, the object is very unclear and if indeed a cup, it seems to be tall and very wide. The dating of the image is that of G.A. Pugachenkova and L. I. Rempel, 1965.

period of Mongol rule in Isfahan, central Iran (fig. 3.33; map 12).[153] The painting depicts a Mongol royal couple, clad in elaborate costumes and accompanied by court attendants. The scene takes place at an open-air courtly reception, where the prince is offering a long stemmed cup to his spouse, and the attendants are serving food and drink to the royal couple.[154] The portrayal follows many of the Mongol textual observations discussed above thereby implying the artist was familiar with the Mongol courtly protocol. Thus, the couple occupies an elevated seat on which the prince appears frontally, although his head is turned in three-quarter profile towards his spouse. The placing of the court attendants around the couple ensures a balanced scene.

Stefano Carboni has argued that the position of the woman to the right of the prince suggests that she is the more important person.[155] His argument is enhanced by the fact that the manuscript frontispiece depicts an enthroned couple where the prince offers the cup to the *female* which might imply that she is a person of higher rank than he is. Otherwise it could be argued that the prince would be receiving, or holding the cup himself. According to Carboni, the white handkerchief in the female's right hand indicates her royal status.[156] This feature is reminiscent of the Seljuq throne scenes, in which the king holds a napkin or a handkerchief.[157] The iconography of the Mongol frontispiece could thus suggest that the woman is the ruler, or that she was enthroned jointly with the man, who is offering the cup.[158]

---

[153] The painting is discussed by Stefano Carboni in *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s* (1994) and in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* (2002).
[154] Carboni: 2002: 216.
[155] *Ibid.* According to Carboni, the woman could be the patron of the book.
[156] Swietochowski and Carboni: 1994: 12.
[157] See page 116 above for the Seljuq throne scenes. The napkin is visible in my figure 3.25.
[158] Sela (2003: 41) refers to the 15th century inauguration ceremony of Yunus Khan, who was elevated to the khanship of Moghulistan with his wife. A 1330s Mongol manuscript from Iran depicts an enthronement scene where a frontally seated ruler is holding a cup (Komaroff and

While the preceding discussion has established the historical presence of male cupbearers in artistic media, the depiction of female cupbearers is extremely rare. A three-handled clay amphora dated to *c.*5th-6th century found near Khotan on the Southern Silk road has three different designs inside medallions. One of them portrays a female, attired like an Indian goddess, holding a pitcher and a hemispherical goblet (fig. 3. 34, detail; map 4). The sacred context of the female depiction could suggest a religious function for the amphora. A *c.*8th century painted panel found by the early 20th century explorer Aurel Stein in a Buddhist temple in Dandan-Oiliq, near Khotan shows the female Hindu deity Śakti offering a wide brimmed cup to the seated male Hindu deity Trimūrti (fig. 3.35; map 4). The context of this image is clearly also not secular, and thus it could have had a ritual function.

In the next three Seljuq examples, the gender of the person with the cup is not determined. Flood has cited a 12th century Seljuq *mina'i*[159] bowl, in which a seated man on the right holds a sword and the person to his left holds a goblet[160] (fig. 3.36). Another Seljuq bowl from Kashan in Iran, dated to *c.*1200 depicts a similar scene, with a person on the right holding a goblet while a man on the left has a bottle in his hand (fig. 3.37). In both these examples it is not clear whether the person on the right is actually offering the cup or merely holding it, but the close proximity of the drinking vessel to the person's chest seems to suggest the latter. A

Carboni: 2002: 41, fig. 37). See also a Mongol manuscript frontispiece (my fig. 3.106) for an enthroned ruler holding a cup.

[159] *Mina'i* is a technique of glazing in ceramic arts, whereby multicoloured compositions were achieved in a second glazing (Pancaroğlu: 2005:76).

[160] Flood: 2005: 89. According to Professor Doris Behrens-Abouseif, SOAS, in this example, the face and long hair could belong to a male, but the jewellery suggests a woman. This scene could depict a royal drinking couple, but there is always a possibility that the beardless person is a youth. I am grateful to Professor Behrens-Abouseif for her help in this matter.

12^{th}-13^{th} century bowl from Kashan or Ghazni depicts two people in conversation, where the person (possibly a man) on the right is holding a small cup and has a sword hanging from the belt (fig. 3. 38).

Therefore, while women cupbearers are mentioned in literary sources, there is no clear art historical evidence for the image in Turkic or Turko-Islamic material. There are also relatively few extant art historical examples of a ruler being offered a cup by a male attendant. Geographically, objects depicting cup offerings can be found on the Northern Silk Road (fig. 3.29) and the Southern Silk Road (figs. 3.34, 3.35), although the latter two are religious in content. The cupbearer in figure 3.29 could be a woman as she has the same hairstyle as the person next to the male figure receiving the cup. The later Mongol example (fig. 3.33) is from Iran. The figures 3.18, 3.30 and 3.31, although depicting cup offering, have a different iconographical context as they feature both the flower and the cup, and are thus clearly Sasanian inspired.

We may conclude, therefore, that the image of a ruler *holding a cup* was the most popular, appearing firstly in pre-Islamic Turkic art and continuing as a prominent symbol of sovereign power under the Turko-Islamic dynasties. All the above Turkic artefacts depicting the cup have a funerary character (figs. 3.21, 3.22, 3.23, 3.24), with the possible exception of figure 3.29, which could illustrate a feast. Therefore the Turkic imagery echoes the textual evidence, noting as it does cup rites in association with funerals and feasts. The art historical evidence cited suggests that during the Turko-Islamic period the image appeared on dishes and in manuscripts (figs. 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28), which seemingly emphasised the sovereign rather than

the festive character of the cup. Therefore, the Turko-Islamic dynasties refined the imagery of the cup rite, which from the 11th century onwards appears in connection with the ruler.

5. Cup offering in Tibet

(i) Yarlung dynasty cup offering

As I have mentioned previously, cup rites are extremely rare in surviving Tibetan art historical material. Approximately contemporary with the stele in figure 3.23 is a *c.* 750 AD Yarlung dynasty Tibetan painting on a wooden coffin or box placed in a tomb in Delinghe, in Qinghai province, China (map 4; the area around Koko-Nor). The painting depicts a figure presenting a cup to a newly married couple, seated in front of a tent (fig. 3.39).[161] The bride and the bridegroom each also clasp a cup in their hands. The details of the kneeling figure proffering the cup are too fragmented to determine with certainty whether the individual is a male or female. However, the tall headdress of the cupbearer is similar to that of the bridegroom, which suggests the cupbearer may be a man. While the context of the Yarlung dynasty painting and the Dukhang mural is very different, both have in common the cup-related imagery, which includes a couple and a cup offering.

This theme of a couple holding cups in front of a tent is very similar to that encountered on a 6th century Sogdian funerary couch (fig. 3.24). Thus, both objects have a funerary connection, as does the other pre-Islamic Turkic material (figs. 3.21, 3.22, 3.23). In figure 3.29 from the Northern Silk Road, a kneeling attendant is also

[161] I am grateful to Dr. Amy Heller for drawing my attention to this image. The coffin or a box also has paintings in a fragmented state depicting a hunting scene, a caravan procession and a marriage ceremony. The image in figure 3. 39 is a modern Chinese re-drawing of the actual painting on the coffin.

offering a cup to a seated couple, although the context of the drawing is uncertain. The similarities between the drinking couple in front of the tent in figure 3. 24 and the Yarlung dynasty painting could imply that Tibetan funeral rites had been influenced by Turkic traditions during the 8^{th}-9^{th} century.

(ii) Cup offering in Ladakh

As noted earlier, in addition to "The Royal Drinking Scene", another mural in the Dukhang (fig. 3.40)[162] and the murals at Mangyu and Sumda also portray a female cup offering. Therefore this image was seemingly limited to 11^{th} century Ladakh. Although the Mangyu mural (fig. 3.3) is in a poor state of preservation, it is possible to distinguish on the right hand side of the mural a drinking vessel with a narrow neck, below which is a cup or a bowl. Two men seated in a three-quarter position are depicted in the centre of the mural, and to the left of them are two women. One of them is offering what seems like a cup to the man next to her. The second woman also has her hand raised, but because of the damage to the mural, it is no longer possible to determine whether she once held a cup. The entire scene compares well both with "The Royal Drinking Scene" (fig. 3.1) and with figure 3.40. At Sumda, a mural shows a woman dressed in a similar costume to the female in the Dukhang. She holds a cup in her right hand but the context is different from that in the Dukhang painting since this woman is one of many single figures flanking a huge mandala. Thus she may be performing a sacred rather than a secular act with the cup.

[162] I am grateful to Mr Lionel Fournier for drawing this unpublished image to my attention. The image appears here courtesy of WHAV, Austria.

6. The position and the role of the participants in the Dukhang scene

The central figure has a dominant position in the Dukhang composition and he is also seated in the highest position (fig. 3.2). In the Mongol court, the khan held the elevated position and the attendants were divided according to their gender.[163] In the Dukhang scene, the men are positioned to the right and the women to the left of the central figure. According to Esin, the Mongols followed the hierarchy established for the Turkish cup rites, where the king received the first cup, then the ranking persons, the first of whom was the queen.[164] The Dukhang mural does not follow this established pattern of order, as the central male does not hold a cup while the man next to him does. As I have attempted to demonstrate above, in both the visual and textual evidence regarding Turkic and Turko-Islamic cup rites, the ruler invariably holds a cup. Not only is the Dukhang central figure depicted without a cup but he is also portrayed in three-quarter view rather than frontally, thus contradicting the strict frontal position, *bagdas,* reserved for the sovereign in Turkic and Turko-Islamic art.[165]

Flood among others has referred to the central figure as a king, whose body is portrayed frontally but whose head is in a three quarter view.[166] On closer inspection, however, there seems to be a slight movement, which suggests the entire body is turned towards its left to face the female (fig. 3.2) and is, therefore, not in a frontal position. The central figure is seated in *lalitāsana,*[167] or a posture of

---

[163] See the discussion under " Textual Evidence for Mongol cup rites" in this chapter.
[164] Esin: 1969: 250.
[165] Esin: 1970/71: 17: "...the *bagdas* is a posture which subordinates may not venture to adopt." She further notes that "in the Buddhist iconography, as well as in the Islamic Turkish lands, the *bagdas* continued to be considered a posture reserved to figures of major consequence."
[166] Flood: 2005: 80.
[167] *Ibid.* 82. Citing Esin (1970/71:23), Flood has noted that this pose is occasionally found in connection with Bodhisattvas and other minor deities in the arts of Central Asia; it survived in Turkish art as late as the 16th century. Further to Flood's comments, it should be noted that the metal

relaxation, while the female is sitting with her ankles crossed on a raised seat.[168] Her position is only slightly lower than the man's, which suggests that her status is nearly equal to his. In the Turko-Mongol protocol, such a position would have been reserved for the khan's wife (fig. 3.33).[169]

The importance of the centrally seated man can also be assumed from the pose of the attendant figure to his right who is portrayed kneeling on both knees and facing towards the central male (fig. 3.2). This implies an act of deep homage and thus a subservient position both to the man and the woman in the centre. His lack of a halo further signifies him as a non-royal personage, thereby contradicting Snellgrove's description of him as a crown prince.[170] The acts of kneeling on both knees and turning towards the monarch were performed by court attendants, and are Turkish gestures of homage that appeared both in arts and literature.[171] Furthermore, the attendant figure is raising the cup as if to drink from it, which suggests that he is about to perform a vow of allegiance to the central figure.[172] Therefore, while the homage shown to the central man suggests that he is a person of royal rank and status, his three quarter pose suggests he is *not necessarily a king.*

---

sculpture of the Pala period depicts Buddhist deities in *lalitāsana.* This feature is also found in Tibetan metal sculpture which is directly influenced by the Pala tradition.

[168] Flood (2005: 80) has suggested the female appears to be kneeling, although a foot protruding from beneath the cloak may indicate a squatting position.

[169] See discussion under "Textual evidence for Mongol cup rites" in this chapter.

[170] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31. Flood (2005: 80) has also denoted the kneeling man as a prince or a minor potentate.

[171] Esin 1970: 81-82. In Uygur Buddhist paintings, figures are depicted kneeling on one knee while in Manichean Uygur book paintings figures kneel on both knees (*ibid.*).

[172] Esin (1970/71: 25) has noted the act of raising one's cup to the chest before drinking from it denotes homage and the vow of fidelity. Klimburg-Salter (1987: 694) has described the kneeling man as a princely figure offering the cup to the king. However, the kneeling figure seems to be holding the cup very near his mouth. Klimburg-Salter (*ibid*: 695) has referred to the act of offering a cup to the king as " an act of homage and allegiance in the Turkic world."

One of the most visible features of both the female and the central male are their haloes. Flood has compared the Dukhang haloes to those in Islamic art, where they were liberally applied to both rulers and attendants.[173] According to Jane Casey Singer, the depiction of haloes is a common phenomenon in Tibetan portrayals of royal, noble and saintly persons.[174] Referring to the Dukhang scene, she has suggested that, " the haloes reflect both a pre-Buddhist Tibetan notion of divine kingship and the imported Indian notion of the *cakravartin*, the divinely inspired ruler."[175] The depiction of haloes in Tibetan Buddhist art is thus clearly defined, and in addition to Buddhist deities and important monks they are reserved for secular people thought to be worthy of the divine.

In the Dukhang mural, the palms of the female's hands are painted in a reddish tint, a characteristic that can be found depicted in Tibetan paintings of both male and female Buddhist deities and of high-ranking lamas (fig. 3.41). However, the absence of secular women in Tibetan portrait painting prevents me from drawing any firm conclusions about whether this practice was a common feature in the depiction of Tibetan noble women. The infidel female cupbearers in the Oghuz epic *Dede Korkut* are described as having their hands dyed with henna from the wrists down.[176] Thus, there could be two possibilities for the woman's red coloured palms in the Dukhang scene. Firstly, the red colour could signify the female as a devout Buddhist of royal rank and thereby the depiction could partly, at least, have a transcendental meaning.

---

[173] Flood: 2005: 80. Hillenbrand (1986:38: fn. 2) has noted the general depreciation of the disc nimbus in Islamic painting and metalwork. However, he argues that the halo, although debased is not entirely meaningless.
[174] Singer: 1997: 128.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Lewis: 1974: 42, 88.

Alternatively, the red palms could imply a non-Tibetan tradition of painting them for a specific event. In *Dede Korkut*, the hennaed hands of the prince's daughters and daughters-in-laws are mentioned in connection with a marriage feast.[177] Therefore, the secular origin for the hennaed hands could be Turkic as both the captured non-Oghuz infidel female cupbearers and the aristocratic Oghuz women themselves are described as having dyed hands. If the meaning behind the red palms on the Dukhang female is profane rather than sacred, then it is possible she is portrayed as a bride in the mural.[178] Notably, the attendant women in figure 3.2 do not appear to have painted palms, which again emphasises the particular role of the central female. However, in the fragmented mural depicting another cup offering in the Dukhang (fig. 3.40), the attending woman positioned next to the soldier in the higher register has quite clearly red palms. Her head is covered with a type of veil, which sets her apart from the other female attendants, whose heads are not covered. These observations could suggest that the painted palms on the Dukhang ladies show a non-Tibetan tradition, which was adopted by some Tibetan women in specific circumstances.

Snellgrove has described the six men in the lower part of the mural "as military officers with decorated shields and presumably also ministers and retainers."[179] (figs. 3.1, 3.42). Flood refers to them as attendants, who are preparing drinks, or as bodyguards.[180] In the foreground there are five narrow necked drinking vessels, one of which has a beak. This scene manifests similarities to the description of the

[177] *Ibid.* 69. The marriage feast is disturbed by an enemy, and " the red henna no more adorned their white hands", i. e. the colour had been washed off because of the disruption of the feast.
[178] Note the reference to a bride offering a cup to Gesar under "Literary evidence for cup offerings in Tibet" in this chapter.
[179] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31. This description also includes the four men on the top left hand side of the mural.
[180] Flood: 2005: 79.

Oghuz gathering in *Dede Korkut*, where "great-mouthed wine jars, vats and golden goblets and ewers were ranged in rows."[181] Two of the men in the mural are kneeling on both knees, and one of them has in his right hand a flask, while the left holds another object. According to Snellgrove, the man is offering more wine from the jars.[182] However, on closer inspection the object in the man's left hand seems to bear similarity to a long piece of blue and white material, resembling a scarf, which hangs behind his back. It follows that the object might be a piece of fabric, which the man appears to be waving above the flask. The other kneeling man holds a weapon, possibly a spear or a sword, in his right hand, while his left hand is placed on his chest. The kneeling position of the two men suggests that they are in a process of performing an act of homage to the centrally seated couple. The standing men, who are shown as mere onlookers, do not appear to be directly involved in the cup rite.

The flask in the man's hand designates him in the role of the cupbearer and thus the piece of fabric he is carrying could have a function connected with the cup rite, perhaps a ceremonial scarf. The matching scarf hanging from the cupbearer's back might indicate his official role in the ceremony. It is possible that the 6th-7th century (?) scarf excavated in Egypt had a ceremonial or an official function (fig. 3. 43).[183] While culturally and temporally far removed from Alchi and thus not directly comparable, nevertheless it bears similarities to the striped scarf in the Dukhang. The specific role of the scarf in "The Royal Drinking Scene" is further emphasised by the fact that only the cupbearer is wearing one.

[181] Lewis: 1974: 88.
[182] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31.
[183] *Textiles of Late Antiquity*: 1995. The scarf has been described as unique, and it was possibly used to denote civic rank or as part of the ceremonial wardrobe of Christian clergy (wrapped around the head and brought around the body).

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the fiancée of Gesar offered him a drinking cup and scarves on the occasion of his enthronement and therefore the scarf could be historically associated with ceremonial functions. Marriage customs amongst the nomads in Rudok include giving scarves as gifts to the bride and her family.[184] In a reception ceremony, which is held for the bridegroom's *gnya' bo*, or the singer, the *gnya' bo* is received by a girl holding a kettle adorned with a scarf and full of white wine.[185] Despite the different gender of the person serving the drinks, the underlying theme in the above ceremony is very similar to that painted on the Dukhang wall. Thus modern day Rudok marriage customs might still reflect ancient traditions, which have continued to be performed through the centuries.

Instead of holding a cup, the central figure in the Dukhang mural has an axe in his right hand and a dagger hangs from his belt. The attendant figure with the cup and the subsidiary men are also holding weapons, which implies the men are soldiers. Thus the axe and the dagger could denote military insignia, and refer to the supreme rank of the central figure. All the subsidiary figures have a clear hierarchy manifest from the way they have been positioned in the scene and furthermore, each male participant carries an emblem, which signifies his particular role. Therefore, the weapons and shields denote a soldier, the cup refers to a cupbearer and the portrayal of the flask and the scarf together implies a ceremonial master. The feature of different individuals holding particular emblems that symbolize the carrier's role was noted in connection with the Turkic pictorial representation.

[184] Shastri: 1994: 758-59.
[185] *Ibid.* 761.

7. The meaning of the mural

On the basis of my art historical analysis of the three main characters and their attendant figures in "The Royal Drinking Scene" the following proposals can be made regarding their role, and the meaning behind the offering of the cup. Firstly, the mural was painted to commemorate the founding of the temple, which would have been a major religious and political event in the region. Therefore, contrary to the view expressed by some scholars, it is unlikely the scene represents a Yarlung dynasty ideal.[186] Rather, the mural portrays the patrons of the temple, who were the rulers of Alchi and its environs, and thus the scene relates to an actual historical event. The only art historical evidence that is directly comparable with "The Royal Drinking Scene" is the mural at Mangyu. Therefore the cup rites were portrayed in Ladakh in the context of a Buddhist temple *during the 11th century only,* which strongly suggests a specific historical and regional context for the murals.

The position of the mural's participants suggests that the centrally seated male is the person of the greatest importance since the others are paying homage to him. His royal status is further indicated by his halo. The special status of the central female is determined both by the halo and the painted palms of her hands, and also by the posture of the centrally placed man, whereby his body is turned towards her. The particular manner in which the central couple is portrayed indicates that they should be seen together as the main characters in the scene. Thus the mural represents a specific act between the two haloed figures, which is symbolised by the cup. The kneeling man on the left manifests a subservient position in the composition and thus his role is to emphasise the importance of the two central

[186] Suggestion originally made by Snellgrove (1977).

characters. The subsidiary figures, flanking the entire scene, are also portrayed as serving and paying homage to the couple. The function of each attending man is clearly denoted by the object he holds, which suggests that the patrons had a detailed knowledge of the cup rite and depicted the visual narrative accordingly.

The above art historical analysis has demonstrated that when the iconography of the mural is compared to the Sasanian derived Islamic material the iconographic omissions regarding the offering of the cup in the Dukhang mural are greater than the similarities. The only common denominator between the two is the cup, and thus it is unlikely that Islamic artistic models were the main influence behind the iconography of the Dukhang mural. The Turko-Islamic objects cited above also fail to establish an unambiguous origin for the scene, as they all depict a cup offering by a man.

Perhaps the clearest parallels to the Dukhang iconography outside Ladakh can be glimpsed through textual sources. The following quotation describing an encampment in *Dede Korkut* may demonstrate the point: " One day Salur Kazan... marshal of the teeming Oghuz ...had his tents pitched on the black earth. In a thousand places silken carpets were spread. The many-coloured parasol reared towards the sky. Nine hundred thousand young Oghuz assembled to his gathering. Great-mouthed wine jars were placed around and about, and in nine places vats were set. Golden goblets and ewers were ranged in rows. Nine infidel girls, lovely of face, black of eye, with plaited hair, their hands henna'd from the wrist down, their fingers tattooed, their necks span long, were circulating the red wine in golden

goblets among the nobles of the teeming Oghuz."[187] The most obvious similarities between the scene in the Dukhang and the above quotation are the female cupbearers and their physical description, the drinking vessels, the numerous men and the parasol, which in Buddhist art denotes royal rank.

The Turko-Islamic textual sources attest to cup offerings by women only on the occasions of feasts and marriages. The Dukhang act of cup offering is performed strictly between the man and the woman, with onlookers either serving or cheering the couple, and thus the scene could portray a marriage ceremony, where the woman is showing her allegiance to her new husband by offering him a cup. It must be emphasised though that on the basis of known art historical material, marriage ceremonies or drinking rites are never depicted in Tibetan temples apart from in 11th century Ladakh. The previously noted literary reference in the Gesar epic to the fiancée of Gesar, '*Brug mo,* offering him a cup on the event of his enthronement does not state '*Brug mo*'s ethnicity. She is thought to have come from a region influenced or controlled by the Hor [Turks], which included the Uygurs of Ganzhou.[188] This suggests '*Brug mo* would have been familiar with Turkic traditions, and interestingly the cup rite entered Tibetan literature when '*Brug mo* married Gesar. It is possible that the cup rite was introduced to the Gesar epic from Ladakh, with the traders who travelled from the region to eastern Tibet.[189] As has noted previously, while the events in the epic are not historical, they reflect a genuine historical situation in the late 11th century, and thus are approximately contemporary with the Dukhang murals.

[187] Lewis: 1974: 88.
[188] Stein: 1959: 196, 194. The term "Hor" is discussed in detail in chapter IV in this thesis.
[189] Personal communication with Philip Denwood, 30.10.2007.

Therefore, the iconography of the mural is unique to 11th century Ladakh and furthermore, because of its limited geographical appearance, the scene depicts a specific historical event in the region, which could be a matrimonial and political alliance. The non-Tibetan iconography seemingly alludes to a more complex cultural and historical setting in the region, and in what follows an attempt will be made to widen the cultural and historical background for the scene by examining certain physiognomic features and the costumes of the mural's participants.

The cultural background of "The Royal Drinking Scene" in the art historical context

There is no definitive historical evidence as to the identity of the central male figure, or of the other participants in the mural despite suggestions made by scholars. Pal has concluded that "the monarchs are not Tibetan...the facial features and the prominent beards...indicate an Indo-Aryan type."[190] Flood has also followed Pal's definition, referring to "a group of Aryan speaking tribes which later invaded western Tibet in the 11th or early 12th century."[191] This ethnic definition is rather vague, and furthermore the pre-15th century history of Ladakh – and for that matter, western Tibet, is still largely without reliable historical documentation. Snellgrove, relying on the list of Ladakhi kings compiled by Francke from the *La dvags rgyal rabs*, postulated that the central figure in the Dukhang scene could be the anonymous father of king Utpala.[192] However, the Ladakhi Royal Chronicle is considered historically unreliable and therefore, at the present state of academic

[190] Pal and Fournier: 1982: 17. Snellgrove (1977: 31) has described the central figure as "a Tibetan ruler".
[191] Flood: 2005: 96.
[192] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 81. His suggestion relies on Francke's dating of Utpala's reign sometime during the 11th century.

knowledge, it is perhaps pointless to attempt to identify any of the people portrayed in the Dukhang scene.

Despite this lack of historical documentation, it is still possible to make suggestions about the ethnic background of the characters of the painting by analysing the details of hairstyles, costume and physical features. The analysis will draw comparisons from the murals of the temple of Tabo in Spiti and other western Tibetan art historical material. The lama king Yeshe Ö (959-1036) founded Tabo, and its earliest part the Entry Hall, dates from 996 AD (maps 1A and 13). The murals in the Assembly Hall and the Cella are dated to *c.*mid-11th century when the temple was renovated,[193] which makes them contemporary with the Dukhang at Alchi. Tabo is a typical example of the early Second Diffusion architecture and the wealth of inscriptional evidence found inside the temple gives it a strong historical background.[194] Many important Buddhist sites in western Tibet were built during the early phase of the Second Diffusion (late 10th – early 11th century), when the region formed the ancient Guge Kingdom and whose rulers were instrumental in establishing and maintaining Buddhism (map 13). Art historical evidence from western Tibet (now part of the Tibet Autonomous Region, China) is unfortunately meagre due to the destruction of most of the Buddhist temples and the murals, sculpture and manuscripts during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).[195] However, whenever appropriate western Tibetan material is available, it will be

[193] Klimburg-Salter: 1997: 46. The Assembly Hall is dated to *c.* 1042 on the basis of inscriptional evidence.
[194] Tucci visited Tabo in the 1930s and his findings were published in *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism. Indo-Tibetica III.1* (1935; translated into English in 1988). More recently, Klimburg-Salter (1997) ha studied the art history of the Tabo monastery, while Petech (1997a) has studied the history of western Tibet.
[195] Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica III.1 and III.2 (Tsaparang)* remain the main works on the now largely destroyed western Tibetan sites. In recent years, Chinese scholars have been working on these sites.

compared with the art historical aspects of the Dukhang in the following attempt to determine the mural's historical background.

1. Women's hairstyle

The hair and the costume of each of the female participants in "The Royal Drinking Scene" have been depicted in some detail. The hair of the central female is painted in multiple thin plaits, which are entwined with strands of blue jewellery (fig. 3.2). Similar strings of jewellery are also visible around her neck. The three women around the central female sport identical hairstyles and jewellery. According to Heather Karmay, Tibetan nomad women had their hair braided in dozens of fine plaits until the 20th century.[196]

(i)Tabo, western and Central Tibet

The Dukhang women's hairstyle is identical to that portrayed in the mural known as "Pilgrimage of Sudhana" in the Assembly Hall at Tabo (fig. 3.44), where the women's hair is also depicted in long thin plaits.[197] As in the Dukhang, the females in figure 3.44 have around their necks strings of jewellery, which are perhaps beaded necklaces. Furthermore, at both Alchi (fig. 3.2) and Tabo (figs. 3.44, 3.45, 3.46), the women are shown with a large blue stone near their foreheads, which seems to be a part of their headgear.[198]

---

[196] Karmay: 1977: 78.
[197] Karmay (*ibid.*) has noted the women's plaited hair in the Assembly Hall at Tabo.
[198] Wandl (1997: 180) notes that in the Assembly Hall at Tabo the men sometimes also wear a head adornment, either of one single blue stone in the middle of the forehead or strings studded with blue stones from the top of the head down to the shoulders. See figure 3. 44 (the lower left and right figures) and figure 3. 45 (left figure in the lower register), for blue stones on the forehead.

There are very few examples of women's hairstyle from western Tibet. The founder of Tabo, Yeshe Ö also founded the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) of the Tholing monastery in 996 AD (maps 1A and 13). Tholing was one of the most important centres for Buddhist learning and arts from the 11th century onwards. Although the temple complex is now destroyed, a few murals can be found on the remains of the 11th century northwestern stupa that once stood on the sacred compound.[199] The murals depict both male and female donors, and the women have long hair, which is formed in knots or buns at shoulder length (figs. 3.47, second lowest row on the right; 3.48 middle row, middle figure on the left). A large blue stone is depicted both on the woman's hair and forehead in figure 3.48, while the female in figure 3.47 has a blue stone attached only to her hair. The stone is very similar to the ornament seen on the women's foreheads in the Dukhang at Alchi and Tabo. To the northeast of Tholing, the 12th century Buddhist cave site of Dungkar has several preserved wall paintings (map 13; Dung-dkar).[200] In one of them, a woman is depicted with plaited hair, which has blue stones attached to the plaits (fig. 3.49). This compares well to the women's hairstyles seen in the Dukhang of Alchi and at Tabo.

There is only one extant example of women's hairstyles from Central Tibet. An 11th century mural of donors in the temple of Yemar (Iwang) depicts a woman with two braids (fig. 3.50, front left figure). The picture, however, is not very clear and the other participants, who could be men, have short "square" hairstyles. Comparing the 11th century hairstyles in western and Central Tibet to the earlier *c.*mid-8th

[199] I am grateful to Dr Amy Heller for giving me her forthcoming article on the donors and the accompanying inscriptions at Tholing.
[200] I would like to thank Mr Lionel Fournier, France for letting me use his photographs of the Dungkar site.

century Yarlung dynasty painting (fig. 3.39), we may note in the latter the female figures have either a short or longer plain hair. The short hairstyle could imply that the hair is gathered in a bun behind the neck. There is no evidence for long plaited hair as seen at Alchi, Tabo and Dungkar. However, some of the women in the Yarlung painting manifest blue and white ornaments on their hair, which look like beads or stones. These are similar to the ones depicted on the women's hair in the Dukhang at Alchi, Tabo and the western Tibetan sites.

It seems therefore that the Tibetan women in Central and western Tibet had a long tradition of wearing beads on their hair. Although the Yarlung dynasty women seemingly did not have a hairstyle consisting of several plaits, by the 11th century this coiffure was widespread amongst the females in the western parts of Tibet. Therefore, it seems that the ethnic Tibetan women in 11th – 12th century Ladakh and Guge (with the exception of Tholing) had a hairstyle of several thin plaits, which were ornamented with blue stones or beads. It is possible that such plaited hair was also worn in southern and Central Tibet, but the near complete lack of art historical evidence prevents us from coming to firm conclusions about its popularity in the region.

2. Women's dress

The central female in the Dukhang mural has a long brown robe with a square neckline, and covered by a white cape. She wears white boots, which curve slightly in the front. The dress is strikingly similar to today's Ladakhi main female costume called *sul ma* (fig. 3.51), and according to Monisha Ahmed, the garment has

probably been structurally the same for many generations.[201] *Sul ma* is an ankle-length (although it often falls between the knee and the ankle), long-sleeved dress with a round neck, which is gathered (*sul*) around the waist with a belt.[202] The dress is made of woven woollen cloth (*snam bu*), which is normally dyed red, brown or maroon.[203] Underneath their dress women wear trousers, and a knee-length rectangular cape (*sbog*) is worn over the *sul ma.*[204] The capes worn by the nomad women in Rupshu in eastern Ladakh are either made of woollen cloth, felt or brocade.[205] Although today's women's costume shows slight differences – e.g. it has a narrow belt – from the one seen in the Dukhang, the basic form of the dress has remained unaltered.

(i) Yarlung dynasty dress

Yarlung dynasty female costume seemingly consisted of two parts (fig. 3.39; the bride in the tent and the four women on the lower right). A round-necked long robe is worn underneath a cape, which has either a long embroidered trimming on the inner edges, or a wide lapelled collar. The sleeves of the garment are also exceedingly long, thereby covering the hands. The Yarlung costume compares well to the earliest female outfit at Tabo, which is depicted in the mural on the west wall of the Entry Hall. The local protectress *Wi nyu min* and her retinue of women (or goddesses) are portrayed wearing round-necked long robes underneath their capes (fig. 3.46). These capes are all without collars or lapels, and instead have narrow trimmings on the inner edges. The dresses can be described as plain, although a

[201] Ahmed: 2002: 111.
[202] *Ibid.* The ankle-length *sul ma* is normally worn on special occasions.
[203] *Ibid.* 105.
[204] *Ibid.* 112-13.
[205] *Ibid.* Brocade capes are worn on special occasions such as weddings. Felt capes, lined with white kid's fleece are generally worn in the winter months while woollen cloth capes are worn in the summer.

simple motif of a dotted four petalled flower can be detected on one of them (fig. 3.52, middle donor). The fourth female from the left has two long pieces of material hanging down from the middle part of her cape, which denote a belt (fig. 3.46). On their foreheads, the women have a blue stone,[206] and they also wear several necklaces. The hair is shown long, and it is not plaited. On their feet, these females wear thick, black boots. The similarities between the Entry Hall at Tabo (figs. 3.46, 3.52) and the Yarlung dynasty costume (fig. 3.39) suggest that the ancient type of clothing was worn in the Tabo region until the 11th century.

(ii) Tabo, western and Central Tibet

There are several depictions of female attire in the Assembly Hall at Tabo. In figures 3.44 and 3.45 the women wear white, very loose capes with blue trimmings and wide sleeves. The upper part of the cape seems to have a shorter, shawl-like section in white, brown and blue, which the women seemingly hold together underneath with their hidden hands and thus the top part of the garment has a "gathered" appearance. Presumably the cape covers an undergarment, which cannot be detected in the murals.[207] In contrast, the white cape worn by the women in the Dukhang at Alchi does not have the shawl-like top section or the blue trimmings. The women's costume at Tabo is likely to have been made of locally woven wool, as the fabric seems heavy; wool would also suit the climate of the region.[208]

There are very few 11th–12th century examples of female costume from western Tibet (Guge Kingdom). At Tholing, in figures 3.47 (right hand side, second row

[206] Wandl: 1997: 180.
[207] *Ibid.* Wandl speculates that the undergarment is either a long dress or a combination of a jacket and a long skirt.
[208] *Ibid.* 179.

from bottom) and 3.48 (left hand side, middle row) the women are shown wearing v-necked dresses, covered by collarless red or white capes, with contrasting trimmings on the edges. The cape in the Tholing mural is comparable to the ones in the Entry Hall at Tabo, and seems to have been influenced by the Yarlung dynasty model. The Tholing cape is also quite similar in shape to the Dukhang one, although the latter does not have the trimmed edges (fig. 3.2). At Dungkar, the colour of the cape is white with a blue collar and a blue, brown and white shawl-like garment covers the top of the costume (fig. 3.49). The ensemble compares well with the attire of the female protectress *Wi nyu myin* in the Assembly Hall at Tabo (fig. 3.53), as the patterning of the shawl (or the upper part of the cape) is almost identical in both examples. Thus there are notable similarities in the women's costume between Guge and Tabo. The Tholing outfits are also likely to have been made of locally woven wool.

As to 11th century female costume in Central Tibet (fig. 3.50), Karmay has described it as "resembling one type of garment worn by women in Central Tibet up to modern times, with inset flared sections of striped woollen cloth similar to that used for making aprons."[209] The female donor seen in figure 3.50 is wearing a white, knee-length cloak on top of her robe.[210] While this dress at Yemar is quite different from the western Tibetan one, both geographical regions have the cape in common.

[209] Karmay: 1977: 78. Tibetan women wearing striped wide aprons are illustrated in Jones: 1996: pages 197 and 261.
[210] The black and white photograph was taken by Tucci's assistant Fosco Maraini in the 1930s. There are no other photographs of the mural, as the temple of Yemar is now destroyed by natural elements and lack of maintenance.

(iii) Footwear

Although the women's costumes show regional variations, their footwear is seen to be the same across Tibet. At Alchi, Tabo and Yemar the women are depicted wearing short thick boots, which are perhaps made of felt, and correspond to the shape of footwear on an 11th century metal sculpture of the Buddha Vairocana from Central Tibet (fig. 3.54). This shape is still seen today on boots (*lham*) in Ladakh (fig. 3.55), and according to Monisha Ahmed, the sole is made of yak leather and the uppers from coloured woollen cloth called *snam bu*.[211] This type of footwear was still worn in the 20th century in Central and eastern Tibet, thus proving that the shape of the boots has barely changed over the centuries.[212] The design of the boots is likely to have been dictated by practical considerations, such as the harsh climate and by the availability of materials.

(iv)Conclusions

On the basis of this art historical analysis of the Tibetan women's hairstyles and dress, it can be said that the females in the Dukhang mural are meant to represent ethnically Tibetan women. The women in Ladakh and western Tibet had a plaited hairstyle, and they also had hair ornaments and jewellery of blue stones. The basic features of the 11th-12th century Tibetan women's costume, such as the ample shape, the cape and the very long loose sleeves had their origins in the Yarlung dynasty attire, although the details of the dress had changed by the 11th century. These changes highlighted regional variations, and thus the attire at Dungkar and Tabo acquired an added shawl-like top section on the costume, while at Tholing the robe was v-necked and more shaped. Female dress in the Dukhang is unique to the

[211] Ahmed: 2002: 109.
[212] Reynolds (1999): plates 10, 13, 44. Jones: 1996: illustrations on pages 178, 182, 210.

Ladakhi region, and even today Ladakhi women wear clothing that is remarkably similar to that seen in the Dukhang mural. It seems though, that the Dukhang cape was influenced by the Yarlung dynasty design, which could have reached Ladakh during the 8^{th}-9^{th} centuries when the region was under Tibetan control. It can be concluded that the Tibetan women's attire, including hair ornaments, jewellery and footwear shows historically remarkable unity and continuity.

3. Realism in Tibetan and Indian portrait painting

In her discussion on Tibetan portrait painting, Jane Casey Singer has described the Dukhang scene, as one of the finest examples of early portraiture in Tibet.[213] According to her, however, it is likely that in Tibetan portrait painting the artists were depicting an idealised type rather than a realistic portrait of the person.[214] Citing Tibetan translations of Indian and Sanskrit treatises on painting, she has discussed the rules for portraying different physiognomic types, and writes, "if a body is not possessed of perfect beauty," the artist was expected to improve upon nature.[215] As Singer has demonstrated, this concept of idealised depiction applies particularly to revered Buddhist teachers in Tibetan portrait thangkas. Many of these portrait thangkas were painted posthumously, and were thus extremely unlikely to have contained exact realistic features.

More recently, Heather Stoddard has also discussed the history of Tibetan religious and lay portraiture in painting and sculpture.[216] In her study, she has widened Singer's discussion of Indian and Chinese influences on Tibetan portraiture by

[213] Singer: 1997: 128.
[214] *Ibid.* 129.
[215] *Ibid.* 129-30.
[216] Stoddard: 2003a.

including a number of Tibetan literary texts regarding the painting of images. She has classified religious portrait painting into different categories, and has demonstrated that images in each of these may combine elements from the other categories, which in essence implies that any religious portrait incorporates a certain number of realistic features.[217] Thus even the idealised "divine" portrait has a human face in a godlike life-size body.[218] Lay portraiture in Tibetan art represents largely female and male donors, who often are aristocrats.[219] In thangkas, the lay donors are normally found in the lower register and shown much smaller than the main Buddhist image, which is placed in the centre of the composition. The earliest lay portraiture can be found in the Yarlung dynasty mural in Dunhuang in northwest China (map 4), which depicts a Tibetan king (fig. 3.56; the king is shown under a parasol), and on sculpture portraying the king Songtsen Gampo and his wives in the Potala Palace, Lhasa.[220] Importantly, Stoddard has argued that the different types of donors are recognisable *by their costume.*[221] My previous analysis of the women's costume and hairstyle in different regions of Tibet strongly suggests that the artists were attempting to portray realistic details.

Following Singer's argument, it is possible that the portrayal of the persons in the Dukhang scene was not an accurate depiction of their likenesses, but rather, they could have been conceived as specific physiognomic types. The latter, however, does not necessarily imply that the artist did not include realistic details in their portrayal. Indeed, the differences in depiction between the participants of the mural,

[217] *Ibid.* 59-60.
[218] *Ibid.* 59.
[219] *Ibid.*47-8.
[220] *Ibid.* 18-24.
[221] *Ibid.* 48.

both in physiognomy and clothing suggest that the artist was aiming to display certain distinguishing traits between each one.

(i) Ajanta murals

As early Tibetan portrait painting was largely influenced by Indian traditions,[222] it may be worthwhile to examine Indian Buddhist painting for any parallels with the depiction of different physiognomic characteristics, such as skin colour in the Dukhang. The earliest and largest surviving corpus of Indian Buddhist paintings is to be found at the rock cut cave site of Ajanta[223] (map 13A). Apart from two *c.* 2nd century BC caves, the majority of the Ajanta murals are thought to date from the Gupta period, *c.* 5th–6th century AD. While the content of the murals is largely Buddhist, the artists have also depicted many secular elements. Thus, glimpses of ancient court life in India can be seen in costumes, jewellery and architectural details. As in the Dukhang, the Ajanta artists also portrayed people with different skin colour (fig. 3.57). According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, a 5th-7th century treatise on Indian painting and image making, "the colouring of things seen is true to nature."[224] Thus, the different tribes and castes of India were depicted either as dark or white skinned.[225] The former included people from South India and working men while the latter was reserved for the ruling warrior class, kings and rich people.[226]

---

[222] Tibetan painting began to be influenced by the Chinese artistic currents from *c.* 14th century onwards.

[223] Later Indian Buddhist painting survives in Pala period Buddhist manuscript illuminations, most of which date from the 11th to 12th centuries. The subject matter in these is purely religious, portraying Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist deities. The depiction of landscape and architecture is minimal.

[224] Kramrisch: 1928: 18. As Kramrisch has pointed out, the text is a compilation and its origin goes back to a distant past (*ibid.* 5). I am grateful to Dr Madhuvanti Ghose for the reference to Kramrich's text.

[225] *Ibid.* 18.

[226] *Ibid.*

Stella Karmrisch noted that, "the colour thus has partly descriptive and partly suggestive significance."[227] But perhaps most importantly, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* clearly states that, " the chief aim of painting is to produce an *exact likeness*. Men should be painted according to their country; their colour, dress and (general) appearance should be well observed. Having carefully ascertained the country, employment and place (of occupation) and the work (a man is engaged in), seat, bed, conveyance and dress should be drawn (correspondingly), (oh) lord of men." [228] This "exact likeness" was, however, based on observations, which classified most men into one of five standardised types.[229] These types had their own iconometric measurements, according to which they were painted by the artists, thus suggesting an element of idealisation, or perhaps generalisation in depicting certain kinds of men (or women). However, the aspect of idealisation or generalisation does not necessarily imply a non-realistic portrayal as many of the measurements, or *aṅgulas*, mostly pertain to the man's physique.

Furthermore, certain characteristics cannot be measured. For example, a distinct group of men classified as *Bhadra* should be portrayed as "sagacious, handsome, clever in the arts, constant, adept in ascetic philosophy; the forehead and temples well-shaped; the loins likewise, the hands and the feet lined like the lotus calyx, the nose fine, the eyebrows even and well-knit."[230] As many of the above features are not visible to the eye and thus cannot be determined by pre-set measurements, the artist can clearly interpret these characteristics according to his own wishes, which

[227] *Ibid.*
[228] *Ibid.* 56. Italics mine.
[229] *Ibid.* 11.
[230] *Ibid.* 12, fn. 1 (15).

by implication could also be influenced by real life observations. Therefore, it is possible that a portrayal of a man or a woman, whether belonging to a given type of people or not, could contain artist's own observations and thus represent a degree of realism.

In her discussion of the representation of human figures in the Ajanta murals, Kramrisch commented on their physiognomy, which was based entirely on measurement.[231] She also noted they had what she called "secondary marks," which were the attributes according to country of origin and occupation.[232] While she did not specify these attributes, it seems likely that they included clothing and headgear. Thus the use of the latter by the artist suggests an ethnic distinction between different groups of people. It has also been suggested that at Ajanta the figures were painted in different shades or colours to stand out by contrast with each other.[233] The techniques of shading and high lighting of facial features, for example, were used at Ajanta to achieve an illusion of a natural source of light, as the interior of the caves is very dark. By observing the people depicted in the murals, the majority of the skin colours ranges from very dark to lighter shades of brown (fig. 3.58). This could be perceived as a naturalistic depiction, as the faces seem to reflect natural light. However, a dark green skin colour also occurs on a number of people (fig. 3.59), which could have been used to achieve contrast.

Interestingly, a foreign man painted on the ceiling at Ajanta is portrayed with a light skin colour and beard (fig. 3.60). Compared to the scantily clad native people, his heavy clothing, especially the fur-brimmed hat further emphasises his non-

[231] Kramrisch: 1983: 282.
[232] *Ibid.*
[233] Sengupta: 1991: 28.

Indian origin. In a mural of the *Sutasoma jātaka* (Cave 17), the foreigners are depicted with a beard or a twisted moustache, and some of them also wear fur-brimmed caps (fig. 3.57).[234] However, their skin colour is dark rather than light. Thus it seems that instead of using a specific skin colour to denote foreigners, the artists differentiated between them and the Indians by portraying particular headgear and thick, often black beards.[235] Therefore, it is likely that the artists at Ajanta were depicting different skin colours both realistically and as a technical tool to achieve depth and natural light in the composition. On the other hand, the headgear and the costumes seem to have formed a purely realistic portrayal.

(ii) Drathang murals

Amy Heller has noted Indian influences in the 11th century murals in the temple of Drathang in Central Tibet.[236] The murals depict Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, monks and lay donors, and as at Ajanta different skin colours are in evidence (fig. 3.61). Heller has noted the portrayal of people from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds, whereby the artists differentiated between facial features, for example, by showing a beard or a moustache.[237] According to Heller, the model for the multicultural audience may have been derived from Ajanta, where in a Cave 17 a crowd of several different nationalities and races is depicted (fig. 3.57).[238] She has also referred to a mural known as the "Veneration of the Relics" at Tabo, which depicts an audience composed of monks with different skin colours, hairstyles, facial features and costumes.[239] At Drathang, the figures are either portrayed wearing a

[234] Behl: 1998: 205.
[235] The foreigners are also depicted with armbands on the upper sleeves of their costume.
[236] Heller: 2002b.
[237] *Ibid.* 46.
[238] *Ibid.*
[239] See fig. 136 in Klimburg-Salter, 1997.

Tibetan Yarlung dynasty-type costume, or an Indian dhoti.[240] The former includes a turban type of headgear and Tang derived motifs on costumes (figs. 3.62, 3.63). Some of the Buddhas also wear Tibetan embroidered felt boots (fig. 3.64).[241] It seems therefore, that during the 11th century Indian artistic techniques such as high lighting and use of different skin colours were applied in Tibetan mural painting and furthermore, artists portrayed distinctive costumes and physiognomies in order to differentiate between various ethnic groups.

(iii) Skin colour in Tibetan painting

The central male in the Dukhang scene has been described as a foreigner, mainly because of his physiognomic details, which include dark brown skin colour, a moustache and goatee. According to Jane Casey, dark skinned figures in Tibetan thangka painting and murals represent specifically Indians.[242] This can be seen in the lineage registers in thangkas, which show Indian Buddhist monks as darker skinned than their Tibetan spiritual descendants.[243] It is also possible that the dark skin could imply all non-Tibetans, not just Indians depending on the context of the painting. If this is the case, in the Dukhang, the central figure and his male companions could be deemed foreigners on account of their dark skin tones, while the female in the centre of the composition might be considered Tibetan on account of her light, almost luminous skin. The dark coloured skin of the male central figure contrasts sharply with the female's physical features, perhaps an attempt by the artist to depict the female as radiating luminous beauty and even a higher state of mental alertness.

---

[240] Heller: 2002b: 43-44, 47 and *passim.*
[241] Figures 3.63 and 3.64 are courtesy of Mr Lionel Fournier.
[242] Personal communication 18. 1. 2006. I would also like to thank Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi, London for their helpful comments regarding this issue.
[243] Personal communication with Dr Jane Casey, 18. 1. 2006.

If these physiognomic features of the female are deemed to be an idealised portrayal, the depiction of her costume and hairstyle, on the other hand, could be called realistic. It should be noted though, that the three subsidiary females in the mural, despite their Tibetan hairstyles and costumes, have darker skin colour than the central female. Thus her pearly white complexion also seems to pertain to her higher status in comparison with the other women. In what follows, an attempt will be made to determine whether a degree of realism also applies to the depiction of the men's physiognomy and costume in the mural.

4. Men's hairstyles in Tibet

The men in the Dukhang scene are shown with two different kinds of hairstyle. The two centrally placed men and some of the attending figures have their hair dressed in long thick wavy strands (figs. 3.2, 3.65, 3.42), while the others have thin, long straight plaits (fig. 3.2, the men in the upper left corner). Flood, the only scholar thus far to have discussed the Dukhang hairstyle, has described it as "knotted strands of long hair," and has compared it to some of the hairstyles depicted in the 5th-8th century murals in the Sogdian town of Panjikent (map 9; Penjikend).[244] In figure 3.66 from Panjikent, the men have only one or two plaits, which clearly do not resemble either of the hairstyles of the Dukhang.

(i) Yarlung dynasty hairstyles

Flood has also compared the Dukhang hairstyle to the Tibetan king depicted in the mural of Dunhuang (fig. 3. 56).[245] Karmay has described the king's hairstyle in this Dunhuang mural (781-847 AD) as follows: "His hair is plaited with red ribbons, a

[244] Flood: 2005: 80.
[245] *Ibid.* Karmay: 1975: 15. The mural is in the cave 159 in Dunhuang.

fashion practised by male Tibetans of Central Tibet up to the present day and the plaits form knots by his ears"[246] (fig. 3.56). None of the figures in the Dunhuang mural, however, sport long plaits or wavy strands of hair. Karmay has suggested that under the Yarlung dynasty Tibetan men wore their hair short, either as a knot of hair at the nape of the neck, or plaited and tied as a roll at shoulder level (figs. 3.67 the man on the left; 3.56).[247] Her proposal is also supported by the Yarlung dynasty coffin painting, which depicts men with a short hairstyle (fig. 3.39).

According to the Chinese sources, the Tibetans had a dishevelled hair, and they did not adopt the Turkic coiffure of long plaits until the time of their occupation of northwest China [Dunhuang] where they came into contact with the neighbouring Turks.[248] The mural in Dunhuang (fig. 3.56) and the Yarlung dynasty painting (fig. 3.39) clearly show Tibetans with a short, non-plaited hairstyles, and therefore it seems possible that the Turkic hairstyle was adopted sometime after these paintings were made. However, the people figuring in the Dunhuang murals are royals, and thus they could have had a different hairstyle from that of the ordinary people.

(ii) Tabo, western and Central Tibet

There are several examples of different men's hairstyles in the 10th and 11th century murals at Tabo. The long thin multiple plaits in the mural known as "Pilgrimage of Sudhana" in the Assembly Hall are identical in their portrayal to some in the Dukhang (figs. 3.44; 3.45 seated figure in the left corner).[249] In contrast the men in the Entry Hall at Tabo have a short hair (figs. 3.68, 3.69), which is also found on

[246] Karmay: *ibid.* 15.
[247] Karmay: 1977: 67, 69.
[248] Demiéville: 208. The 200-year old Tibetan occupation in Central Asia came to an end in *c.* 852 AD.
[249] Wandl (1997: 180) has described the men's hair as " hanging down loose".

the majority of men in the Cella and the Ambulatory of Tabo's Main Temple (figs. 3.70, 3.71). Thus the evidence for the plaited hair at Tabo implies it was not fashionable there *before* the 11th century. A similar instance where short hair with knots of each side of the head just above the shoulders, is to be found is in an 11th century mural from Mangnang near Tholing (map 13; fig. 3.72).[250] A male donor in the 11th century *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, also from western Tibet has a comparable hairstyle, which turns up at shoulder level although it does not seemingly have knots on each side of the head (fig. 3.73).[251] The pictorial evidence surveyed above suggests that both the short and the plaited hairstyles were popularly depicted at Tabo.

In the 11th century mural depicting the *jātaka* known as "the Buddha Saving from Flood" on the northeastern stupa at Tholing, a swimming man is portrayed with hair identical to that in the Dukhang (fig. 3.74). This strongly suggests the two scenes are contemporary with each other, executed by artists who were trained in comparable painting traditions. In contrast, the male donors on the northwestern stupa at Tholing are depicted either with a long unplaited or dishevelled hair (figs. 3.75; 3.47, lower right corner),[252] or with gathered rolls of hair on either side of the head with a long plait hanging down on the back (figs. 3.48, 3.76). The latter hairstyle is also sported by a donor from Rum in the Ambulatory of the Main Temple at Tabo (fig. 3.77).[253] His hair is short, with a gathered roll on either side of his head. From each roll, a twisted or knotted strand of hair falls down. An inscription next to the donor figure reads "*Gzi Mal La Wangchuk* (and) the group

[250] Karmay: 1977: 76-8.
[251] *Ibid.* 78. The manuscript page (with several others) was found by Tucci in a store room in the ruins of Tholing.
[252] The dishevelled hair in figure 3. 75 appears to match the Chinese description above.
[253] Vitali (1996: 252, 306-7) defines *Rum yul* as a large territory to the west of Tholing.

from *mk'ar* Rum in the province of Guge."[254] An identical hairstyle is seen on a man riding a goat in a 12th-century mural at Dungkar (fig. 3.78), and therefore this hairstyle was seemingly worn uniquely by the men from the Tholing region. At Yemar (figs. 3.50, 3.79), the male donors have short "square" hair, which is similar to that seen at Tabo.

(iii) Hairstyles on Buddhist deities

Curling strands of hair are depicted on bodhisattvas in the murals in the Jokhang, Lhasa. According to Vitali, the murals were painted during a major renovation in the 12th century (figs. 3.80, 3.81, 3.82).[255] The hair of the Bodhisattva in figure 3.81 has the closest resemblance to that in the Dukhang. Thus, outside Alchi and the northeastern stupa at Tholing, the portrayal of this type of hairstyle was seemingly limited to Buddhist deities, a feature that is also evident in the Pala-period Buddhist manuscript illuminations from eastern India. In a manuscript dated to 1075 AD from Nalanda in Bihar the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā* and Bodhisattva Mañjusri have long strands of curly hair (fig. 3.83), which are also to be found adorning Maitreya in an early 12th century manuscript.[256]

5. Turkic hairstyles

Literary sources suggest that plaited hair may have originated amongst the Turks in Inner Asia. In 629 AD the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited the city of Suyab (map 4) and gave the following description of the hairstyle of the Turkic qaghan and of his courtiers: "... [The Kaghan's] head was bare and wrapped only in a silk band more than one *zhang* (3.2 metres) in length, with its ends hanging behind. He

[254] Pritzker: 1998a: 72-3.
[255] Vitali: 1990: 82.
[256] Pal: 1993: 61-61, CAT 5B.

was attended by over two hundred commanders dressed in robes of brocade, with braided hair."[257] There is further literary evidence for this Turkic hairstyle in the Chinese annals from the Tang Dynasty (618-906 AD) and the Five Dynasties Period (907-960 AD), which describe the hairstyle of the Turks (T'ou-kiue or the Western Turks, and Uygurs) as consisting of several long plaits.[258] In 8th-9th century Uygur controlled Turfan on the Northern Silk Road, at least amongst the nobility, the men's hairstyle consisted of two, six or more fine, long plaits.[259] The literary evidence is supported by the 9th century portrait of Uygur princes in Bezeklik (map 4; Turfan region), which shows the hair in long tresses, cut square at the ends (fig. 3.84).

(i) Sogdia

A 6th century Sogdian funerary couch depicts the earliest example of the Turkic hairstyle with long straight plaits (fig. 3.85). A mid-7th century mural known as "The Ambassadors' Painting" in the ancient Sogdian city of Afrasiab, in Samarqand[260] (Republic of Uzbekistan, maps 4 and 12) portrays two Turkic delegates (fig. 3. 86), who have very long plaits, the ends of which curl in a similar manner to the strands of hair seen on the two central men in the Dukhang mural. The previously discussed hairstyle in another Sogdian town, Panjikent (fig. 3. 66) is quite different from the above Turkic one, and thus the men in figure 3.66 are likely to sport a Sogdian hairstyle.

[257] Baipakov: 2000: 221.
[258] Demiéville: 1952: 208.
[259] *Ibid.* 209.
[260] Whitfield: 2004: 110-11.

(ii) Buddhist hairstyles on the Northern Silk Road and Dunhuang

Various types of curly strands of hair are frequently shown on deities in the Buddhist paintings and cave murals on the Northern Silk Road (map 4; Tumshuq, Kucha, Kizil, Shorchuk, Turfan, Gaochang/Kocho). The region enjoyed a strong Turkic presence from the times of the Eastern Türk qaghanate. In the 4th-7th century murals at Kizil, the Buddhist deities have curling strands of hair (map 4; figs. 3.87, Cave of the Statues; 3.88, Peacock Cave). A similar hairstyle with very curly strands may also be observed on a deity in the *c.* 8th-9th century mural in the Chimney Cave at Kumtura (fig. 3.89).[261] A 9th-10th century devotional painting on ramie with a Uygur votive inscription from Murtuk portrays the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara with curling thick strands of hair (fig. 3. 90). Further to the east, two early to mid-9th century paintings on paper from Dunhuang each depict a Bodhisattva with thick curly strands of hair (map 4; figs. 3.91, 3. 92). The Bodhisattva in figure 3.92 also sports a goatee. According to Roderick Whitfield, both paintings have Tibetan donor inscriptions, which suggest they were painted during the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (781-847 AD).[262]

(iii) Seljuq hairstyles

Both Flood[263] and Sims[264] have argued that the curling strands of hair in the Dukhang are very similar to ceramic depictions in the Seljuq figural style. According to Jean Sauvaget, long plaits or braids of hair were typical of the Oghuz

---

[261] For more examples of the hairstyle from Kumtura, see Giès, Feugère and Coutin: 2002: 66, 129-31. An 8th-9th century ramie banner from the Turfan region also depicts a bodhisattva with curling strands of hair (Härtel and Yaldiz: 1982: 89).

[262] Whitfield and Farrer: 1990: 72 (plates 52 and 53).

[263] Flood: 2005: 80, fn. 57: "Such twisted strands of hair also appear in connection with figures of Turkic appearance on Saljuq [Seljuq] ceramics..."

[264] Sims: 2002: 24: "Even their long black hair in many plaits, a narrow scarf tied around the head with its ends hanging loose, calls to mind the Seljuq figural style of the 12th and 13th centuries practised in Iran and neighbouring lands."

Turks, and can also be found in the ceramics and bronzes of Seljuq period Iran.[265] Guitty Azarpay also notes that "the stringy braids and full Turkish dress appear simultaneously in the art of the Near East under the patronage of the Seljuqs and other Turkish dynasties in the eleventh and twelfth centuries."[266] Thus scholars recognise the braided hairstyle specifically as a Turkic feature, which distinguished the Turks from other ethnic groups. The Seljuq bowl discussed previously (fig. 3.37) depicts a man on the left, with three long thick plaits, which curl slightly upwards at the ends. The majority of Islamic examples exhibit a male hairstyle that either conforms to the above (fig. 3.37) or is shoulder length (figs. 3.26; 3.93, 12th century, figure on the right).[267] The plaits, which appear on an 11th or 12th century lustre bowl from Ray, Iran, are wavy (fig. 3.94) and bear the closest resemblance to the Dukhang ones. However, the similarities between the Dukhang and Seljuq hairstyles are at best superficial, although both of them depict long strands of hair. These differences in the representation of the plaited hairstyle seem to imply either a different artistic or cultural tradition, or both. The depiction of the hairstyle with just a few long thick plaits continued in Seljuq influenced art during the 13th century, and it is one of the clearest defining features of the Seljuq style (figs. 3.36, 3.95, 3.93, 3.96).[268]

(iv) Conclusions

The literary evidence from the 7th-century onwards is quite specific about the Turkic people's wearing of plaits, and it also suggests that the Tibetans adopted a plaited hairstyle from the Turks. The available Tibetan art historical evidence does

[265] Sauvaget: 1952: 131.
[266] Azarpay: 1981: 176.
[267] For an example of both short and long hair, see Pope and Ackerman (1967): *Survey of Persian Art, vol. X*, fig. 689 (late 12th century).
[268] See my figure 3. 188 (early 13th century).

not attest, however, to men with plaited hair before the 11th century. Thin multiple plaits are depicted at Alchi and Tabo, but not elsewhere in Tibet. Thick wavy strands of hair appear only on lay people in the Dukhang at Alchi, while their use at Tholing (fig. 3.73) and the Jokhang may be considered strictly Buddhist.

The art historical evidence attests to the popularity of the thick curling strands of hair in the Buddhist arts of the Northern Silk Road during the 8th-10th century, and the hairstyle is also depicted in Pala manuscripts from eastern India.[269] Thus we see that the hairstyle had a wide geographical diffusion in the context of Buddhist arts. The curling strands of hair on the Buddhist deities in the Jokhang murals resemble the Pala portrayals, and thus further suggest an artistic link between Central Tibet and eastern India, which has been noted in the discussion about the murals at Drathang.[270] The artistic representation of different hairstyles in the Dukhang strongly suggests a realistic portrayal, and indeed the long knotted hair can even be seen on a modern day nomad man from eastern Tibet (fig. 3.97). Therefore, the wavy strands of hair in the Dukhang are likely to reflect the artist's attempt to portray a different, and at the time foreign, hairstyle different, that is, from the 11th century western Tibetan one of multiple straight thin plaits. Further, the Dukhang portrayal's close resemblance to the hairstyle of Buddhist deities on the Northern Silk Road material and to Pala manuscripts appears to imply that the artists at Alchi were trained in Buddhist painting techniques. Despite the geographical distance between Xinjiang and eastern India, the hairstyles are remarkably similar, and indicating possible co-operation between foreign artists.

[269] It should be noted, though, that the only painting surviving from the Pala period is Buddhist and thus there are no secular examples.
[270] See "Drathang murals"pp. 147-48 in this chapter.

6. Headgear in Tibet

Many of the male figures in the Dukhang mural, including the two men in the centre are shown wearing around their heads a narrow scarf with long ends (figs. 3.2, 3.42). This type of headgear has a striking similarity to the 7th century description of the Turkic qaghan, who wore around his bare head a long silk band with hanging ends. It should be noted that the men in the Dukhang, who are wearing the headband with long ends have wavy strands of hair (figs. 3.2, 3.42) rather than multiple thin plaits. Headgear, which is practically identical to the Dukhang example, is also found at Mangyu (fig. 3.3), although the mural is too damaged to assess the men's hairstyle with certainty.

(i) Yarlung dynasty headgear

Yarlung dynasty headdresses for men were different, consisting of two types of turban or a headband.[271] The first type of turban had a high flute of pleats standing above the crown, and was probably only worn by royal persons[272] (figs. 3.56; 3.98, left hand). The men in the Yarlung dynasty coffin painting also wear tall turban-like headgear (fig. 3.39), while some of them have a flatter type of turban. The other type of headgear was a tightly rolled ring or head-cloth, which left the top of the head bare.[273] The earliest example of the latter is from a 7th-century Chinese scroll painting, which portrays a Tibetan minister *Blon po mGar* (fig. 3.99).[274] This style can also be found in an 8th century Buddhist manuscript from Dunhuang (fig. 3.67, left hand figure in front). While the headband has not got long ends, it does leave the top of the head bare, as does the Dukhang one.

---

[271] Karmay: 1977.
[272] *Ibid.* 79.
[273] *Ibid.*
[274] Heller (2002a: 8) has suggested that the envoy depicted in the scroll may not in fact be Tibetan, but rather may portray a Sogdian envoy, due to his facial features, the pose and the garment.

(ii) Tabo and western Tibet

In the Entry Hall at Tabo the men (fig. 3.68) are portrayed wearing flat red turbans,[275] which are similar to the ones in figure 3.39. This type of turban can also be seen in the Cella (fig. 3.71, the two men in the lower right) and the Assembly Hall in the Main Temple (fig. 3.100, the man on horseback in the middle of the mural). A wide brimmed headband, which leaves the top of the head bare, is evident on the donor from Rum in the Ambulatory (fig. 3.77) and also in a mural of the "Pilgrimage of Sudhana" in the Assembly Hall of the Main Temple (fig. 3.101). A flat turban, which has a long piece of material hanging from it, with a separate piece of material covering the neck, appears on several of the men in the Assembly Hall[276] (figs. 3.102, 3.103). The man from Mangnang (fig. 3.72; lower row) also wears this type of headdress. Outside the Tibetan realm, a headdress depicted on an 11th-12th century ceramic fragment from Egypt (fig. 3. 104) exhibits a strong resemblance to figures 3.103 and 3.72, which suggests that this kind of headgear was designed for hot regions. Therefore the headdress with protecting flaps could be non-Tibetan and the men depicted wearing it are therefore likely to be foreign.

The Tholing donors wear a variety of headgear. Each of the kneeling donors sports a flat turban (figs. 3.48, 3.76; lower register). The two men on the right in the middle register are each wearing a hat with an upturned brim (figs. 3.48, 3.76).[277] While this type of hat seemingly does not appear anywhere else in Tibet, a practically identical one is depicted in a 10th century drawing, possibly from Turfan and in another drawing, which depicts a 13th century Mongol period manuscript

[275] Klimburg-Salter: 1997: 85. She has described the headgear as hats.
[276] Wandl (1997: 181) has classified this type of headgear as non-Tibetan.
[277] Heller (forthcoming) has noted that the men wearing hats have a large turquoise on the back of the head, while the men with no hats have the turquoise on their forehead. I would like to thank Dr Heller for giving me the article in advance of publication.

frontispiece (figs. 3.105, 3.106). It is thus plausible that the hat at Tholing could have originated amongst the Turks from the Northern Silk Road.[278] The mounted man from Dungkar wears yet another type of hat, with a pointed white top and red brim (fig. 3.78). Different types of brimmed hats can also be found at Tabo (figs. 3.71, 3.101; donors on the right).

One of the men with thin multiple plaits in the Dukhang wears a hat with a fur brim (fig. 3.42; second man from right), a type which is also seen on two of the donors at Tholing (fig. 3.48; left, middle register) and on a kneeling donor at Yemar (fig. 3.107). Therefore the turban-type headgear, which was popularly depicted at Tholing and Tabo, was clearly influenced by the Yarlung dynasty headdress. Notably, however, the turban is not depicted in the Dukhang at Alchi, which suggests a tradition of wearing a different type of headgear from the western Tibetan one. The fur brimmed hat, which was worn both in Central and western Tibet, is also found in the Dukhang, but only once, when it is worn by a man with a Tibetan hairstyle of thin multiple plaits. This type of headgear was still worn in Tibet in the 20th century, suggesting that the hat was particularly suited to the colder climate (fig. 3.108, modern day Tibetan pilgrim in Lhasa).[279] The hats at Tholing and Dungkar that have no clear parallels with the headgear anywhere else in Tibet can perhaps be deemed to represent regional styles.

[278] This type of hat is still worn by the Uygurs of Xinjiang. I am grateful to Hilary A. Smith, London for this information.

[279] Reynolds: 1999: 85, fig. 5 shows Lhasa officals (*c.* 1920) with wide fur-brimmed hats; p. 61, plate 8 (1920-30) shows a man's outfit from Amdo, which has a silk hat trimmed with fox fur. Jones: 1996: 231 depicts a hat of a religious official, which is trimmed with fur and has a gold ornament on top.

7. Turkic headdress

In addition to the plaited hairstyle, Sims has proposed that the "narrow scarf tied around the head with its ends hanging loose" shown on some of the men in the Dukhang also has a possible connection to the 12th-13th century Seljuq figural style.[280] Depictions of men appear most frequently on Seljuq ceramics, which have been found in Iran. In figure 3.96, dated to 1187 AD, one of the men has long ends hanging from his headgear, and this type of representation can be seen on several other Seljuq ceramics from the 12th and 13th centuries (figs. 3.93, 3.109).[281] Comparing the Seljuq and the Dukhang headgear, the latter seems to consist of a long, narrow piece of material, which is tied around the head, thus leaving the top of the head bare (fig. 3.65). By contrast, in the Seljuq examples (figs. 3.93, 3.96), the head is completely covered by a kind of cap, thus clearly suggesting a different type of headdress from the Dukhang one.

As with the men's hairstyles, the headband with long ends in the Dukhang has no clear contemporary 11th century art historical parallels with the headgear in Tibet or Central Asia. However, a horse rider wearing a headband with long floating ends is to be found on a woollen hanging, which was probably discovered in Antinöe, Egypt (fig. 3.110). The pattern depicts staggered rows of horse and lion protomae,[282] while the designs on the right side of the hanging have alternating motifs of pearl roundels and single creatures. The textile was first discussed by Ernst Kitzinger in 1946, who suggested that its underlying theme, the royal hunt, and possibly the spotted garments worn by the rider(s) were Persian influenced

[280] Sims: 2002: 24.
[281] See also Hillenbrand (ed.) 1994: fig. 161, 1186 AD.
[282] Otavsky: 1998: 16.

although the hanging was made in Egypt.[283] Comparing the hanging to other similar textiles from Antinöe, the textile historian Karl Otavsky has described the group as "apparently Sasanian", as the fabrics are connected to each other by their strange motifs, which are in fact not Sasanian but instead "recall the highly imaginative acroteria of the late classical era."[284] Thus, the textile could date from the late 7th century, thus approximately contemporary with the description of the Turkic qaghan given by Xuanzang in 629 AD.

As the Dukhang headgear matches closely the above description by Xuanzang and the headband depicted in figure 3.110, it seems likely that the origins of the headband with long ends lie in the Turkic fashion of Inner Asia.[285] It could even be a later development of the Sasanian royal headgear, which is a diadem with floating ends (figs. 3.10, 3.11, 3.12). There is no art historical evidence for the Dukhang-type headband anywhere else in Tibet, which implies it was unique to the men who ruled Ladakh at the time when the temples at Alchi and Mangyu were founded.

8. Goatee

The goatee is not frequently sported by Tibetan men in painting and sculpture, which could imply a further foreign, non-Tibetan characteristic in the portrayal of our central male figure. At Tabo, the donor from Rum sports a goatee (fig. 3.77), as do several other men (figs. 3.102, 3.111). As the discussion on the headgear has

[283] Kitzinger: 1946: 41-2. Although the picture of the fragment shows only one rider, there are three riders in all. Kitzinger has noted that their exceptionally large eyes are typical of Coptic polychrome textiles (*ibid.* 36).
[284] Otavsky: 1998: 16. Otavsky (*ibid*: 15) has noted that Antinöe was linked with the coast of the Red Sea by a trade route, which then connected to southern Arabia (and beyond).
[285] The 6th century Sogdian funerary couch discussed earlier, has one panel depicting a rider with a headdress with long floating ends. The headdress seems to have a pointed front, thereby differing from the Dukhang headband (illustrated in Whitfield: 2004: 115; Panel a, topmost rider).

implied, at least some of the men with the goatee in figure 3.102 could be foreigners. The depiction of a goatee is also relatively rare in later Tibetan art, which suggests it was not considered to be a general physiognomic characteristic of an ethnically Tibetan man. Instead of a goatee, many portrait thangkas depicting Buddhist hierarchs show them with a very faint outline of facial hair, denoting a beard. A 13th century portrait thangka of Taglung Thangpa Chenpo, painted in Central Tibet will serve to illustrate the point (fig. 3.112).[286]

In her discussion of the Turkic elements in the 10th century murals in the palace of Jausaq al-Khaqani (836-9) in Samarra, Iraq, Emel Esin suggested the goatee was an attribute of non-Muslim Turks.[287] In 11th-12th century Islamic arts, men are very often portrayed clean-shaven (figs. 3. 93, 3.94, 3.96). When a beard is depicted, it is shown either as very faint facial hair on the lower part of face (figs. 3.36, 3.37) or as a full, thick beard.[288] The clean-shaven, or faintly bearded face was one of the features in the physiognomic aesthetic patronised by the Seljuqs in their arts.[289] The smooth face, manifesting hardly any signs of hair formed part of the "moon face", which consisted of "a large round visage, arched eyebrows, narrow almond-shaped eyes, a fine nose and a small dimpled mouth."[290] This human representation, according to Oya Pancaroğlu derived from literary expressions of beauty and

---

[286] See Singer 1997:134, fig.13, a 12th century thangka depicting Shang Lama. Also Dinwiddie 2003: plates 29 and 30, which illustrate 14th/15th and 16th century portrait sculptures of Karma pakshi (1204-1283), who is depicted with a goatee.

[287] Esin: 1973/74:78-9. According to Esin (*ibid.* 54) "the physical appearance of the Turks was a source of astonishment in the Muslim Arab-Iranian world...The elder Turks were sparsely bearded, in goatee shape, in contrast to the luxuriant beards of Arabs and Iranians." The reference to the goatees is from the 10th century.

[288] See Roxburgh: 2005: page 97, fig. 56. A full beard is also often depicted on Manichaean manuscript illustrations (see Härtel and Yaldiz: 1982: pages 177, 178, 180, figs. 114, 115, 117).

[289] Sauvaget (1952: 131) has noted that in Seljuq art the Turks can be recognised by their round face and by their thin beard.

[290] Pancaroğlu: 2005: 77.

generated a near homogeny of human types in the visual arts.[291] Both the types of beard discussed above are clearly quite different from the goatee in the Dukhang. Furthermore, the facial features of the Dukhang figures do not conform to the "moon face" aesthetic either and thus the Dukhang artists were following a different tradition from the contemporary Islamic figural style in painting.

9. Men's costume

The central man's costume in the Dukhang scene is the most commented upon, and several authors have referred to it as a caftan (fig. 3.2).[292] It has long sleeves, a deep v-neck and on the upper part of each sleeve is an armband, which is an integral part of the fabric rather than separate. The fabric of the garment has several roundel motifs, inside which an animal of no clear description appears.[293] The cuffs are folded back and a wide red and white chequered belt is tied around the waist. Underneath this outer layer, a round-necked undergarment can be detected. The man is wearing light coloured trousers, which are tucked inside his footwear. The patterned footwear is short and pointed, and open at the ankle. The cupbearer's plain white robe has the same shape as the central figure's costume.

Scholars have made several suggestions regarding the origin of these men's costumes in the Dukhang. Snellgrove described them as of Sasanian inspiration from Central Asia, thus postulating a connection with the Persian world.[294] Pal has generally described the costumes at Alchi as "part of the common regal attire in a

[291] *Ibid.* The "moon face," with its homogenous depiction of facial features is clearly distinguishable, for example, in the two Kashan cups discussed above (figs. 3.36 and 3.37), where the gender of the cup bearer cannot be determined with certainty.
[292] Tucci: 1973: 181. He describes the caftan as of Iranian type. Sims: 2002: 23. Flood: 2005: 82.
[293] Tucci (*ibid.*) has referred to the motifs inside the roundels as golden lions. Flood (*ibid.*) describes the motifs as rampant lions.
[294] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1977: 31.

wide region (from the Panjab in India to the court of Ghazni and beyond in the north and in Ladakh) in the eleventh century."[295] The court of Ghazni (map 12; "Ghazna") refers to the Turko-Islamic dynasty of the Ghaznavids (997-1186) who were centred in Afghanistan and northern India.[296] Flood has argued, " [apart from the choice of the subject matter], the most obviously Sasanian element in the royal drinking scene is the robe worn by the monarch."[297] By the latter he seemingly implies the decorative patterns on the robe, as he has suggested the costume may be "a Central Asian or Himalayan imitation of Sasanian textiles, or may be imported from the eastern Islamic world."[298]

Sims proposes that the Dukhang outfit is a later and elaborated version of the costume depicted on the rock relief of the Sasanian king Khusrau II at Taq-i Bustan in Iran[299] (fig. 3.113). According to Sims, this "later and elaborated" garment is Turkic and was worn all over the Central Asian and Islamic worlds.[300] While the above suggestions are rather vague for the origin of the Dukhang costume, as they refer to a vast geographical area, the majority of scholars points out that the outfit is Turkic and was ultimately derived from Sasanian models. In the next section, Sasanian costume will be defined to establish a background for the Dukhang garment.

---

[295] Pal: 1982: 28.
[296] Golden: 2005: 25.
[297] Flood: 2005: 82. The monarch refers to the centrally seated male.
[298] *Ibid.*
[299] Sims: 2002: 23. Khusrau II ruled between 591-628 AD.
[300] *Ibid.* 24. According to Sims, such Turkic garments were developed for their practicality by the riding peoples of the steppes. Goldman (1993: 201) has also noted Sasanian traces in early Islamic costume.

(i) Sasanian costume

Sasanian costume is depicted on rock reliefs and silver ware, the two media that were associated with the courtly arts. The outfit consists of a round-necked long tunic with a royal breast-strap and wide trousers that narrow towards the ankle (figs. 3.10, 3.11). In some instances the tunic falls in such a manner that it creates an apron-like effect in front (figs. 3.10, 3.12). The shoes are narrow with pointed ends, which have ribbons attached to them. In the rock relief depicting Khusrau II at Taq-i Bustan (fig. 3.113) the outer garment is patterned, and has a sword belt. Goldman calls the Sasanian outfit "a pre-Islamic riding costume" thus implying it was designed for its practicality on horseback.[301]

While the Sasanian costume is more archaic than the Dukhang garment, the latter has certain features, which may be deemed a later development from the Sasanian prototype.[302] Amongst these features are the baggy trousers that are gathered at the ankle and tucked inside black patterned low boots (fig. 3.2). The Dukhang caftan, although v-necked, is also similar in shape to the Sasanian long tunic, and both outfits lack lapels. According to Goldman, lapels with turned-back revers were added to later jackets and caftans of Central Asia.[303] The Dukhang costume has a belt with a hanging dagger, and Goldman has argued the dagger in the lobed sheath was handed down by the Parthians to their Iranian successors [the Sasanians] and was transformed from a weapon to a decorative accessory.[304] The floating ribbon, which was an important symbol of royalty and thus formed a prominent part of Sasanian costume, does not appear on the Dukhang outfit [nor is it included in the

[301] Goldman: 1993.
[302] Although Sims (2002: 23) argues that the Dukhang costume is derived from the Sasanian models, she does not specify the developments in the costume.
[303] Goldman: 1993: 213.
[304] *Ibid.* 212. Goldman argues that the sheathed dagger was part of the formal Iranian dress.

post-Sasanian Turkic costume]. The disappearance of such Sasanian royal insignia further emphasises the transformation that Sasanian costume underwent over the centuries in its new cultural environment. Nevertheless, many of the features of the Dukhang costume clearly originated ultimately from Sasanian outfits.

(ii) Yarlung dynasty men's costumes

It may be useful to compare the Dukhang outfits to the men's costume in Tibet to determine whether they share similarities. According to Heather Karmay, the Yarlung dynasty Tibetan robe was long and slim-fitting around the waist, and had triangular collar flaps or lapels of different sizes.[305] The broad lapels could fall back over the shoulders and were long enough to extend to the front of the robe, where they could be tucked under a narrow girdle[306] (fig. 3.56). Exceedingly long sleeves that covered the hands were another characteristic feature of Yarlung dynasty costume as were the cuffs, collar and hem composed of material contrasting to the main robe (figs. 3.67, 3.98).[307] This is also exhibited in the robes on the men appearing in figure 3.39, which have either plain or patterned broad or narrow lapels, which contrast with the main colour of the robe. The sleeves are exceedingly long and many of the costumes have a narrow girdle. The robes are ample, and they are either draped loosely with a belt or are closed from right to left.[308]

In another painting from the Yarlung coffin discussed earlier, a man on horseback wears a robe with a central closure and a round collar, which fits snuggly around

[305] Karmay: 1977: 79.
[306] *Ibid.* 79-80.
[307] *Ibid.* 80.
[308] According to Heller (2002a: 7) Tibetan garments usually closed to the left.

his neck (fig. 3.114).[309] A long weapon hangs from the rider's waist. Both the Tibetan king and his attendant holding a parasol in figure 3.56 also appear to have short daggers attached to their girdles, and it is possible that the weapons acted as a sign of rank or as decorative pieces, since they do not feature on all the Yarlung costumes. The close fitting round collar (fig. 3. 114) is likewise not widely portrayed on Yarlung dynasty or later Tibetan outfits.

(iii) 10th-11th century men's costumes at Tabo

Art historically the earliest men's costumes in western Tibet are in the 10th century Entry Hall mural at Tabo, which depicts noble men wearing Yarlung dynasty type outfits (figs. 3.69, 3.115). The robe closes from right to left, and has exceedingly long sleeves and a wide patterned collar. Although the mural is very fragmentary, a floral pattern can be distinguished on the main body of the garment (fig. 3.69, man on the left). The yellowish robe on the left in figure 3.115 has a pattern of red roundels, while the white costume in the middle is patterned with red dotted roundels. The collars and sleeves are of a material, which contrasts to the main fabric of the robe. The murals depicting the "Pilgrimage of Sudhana" in the 11th century Assembly Hall show the participants wearing apparel, which has many Yarlung dynasty features (figs. 3. 44, 3. 101). The male outfit in figure 3. 44 is white with blue broad lapels and pleated cuffs, which cover the hand. Pleated trousers form part of the costume (for example, the man in the lower left in fig. 3. 44), thereby differing from the traditional Yarlung dynasty ample robe, which has no visible trousers.[310]

[309] Heller points out that the central closure is not completely absent from Tibetan Yarlung dynasty clothing (*ibid.* 8). The robes in figures 3. 67 and 3. 98 in this thesis appear to have a central closure.
[310] Wandl (1997: 179-80) calls the outfit "pants suits."

The costume we see in figure 3.101 is very similar to that in figure 3.44. The loose brown robe has long wide lapels, which are tucked inside a girdle, and the sleeves are exceedingly long. The trousers have pleats and seem to be integrated with the robe. The pleated ends of the trousers, the cuffs and the lapels are of a contrasting colour. Figure 3.116, the donor from Rum, manifests quite clearly the pleated cuffs of the sleeves and the extremely wide lapels. The garment worn by the western Tibetan donor in figure 3.73 also exhibits very wide lapels, which are practically identical in shape to those of the donor from Rum (fig. 3.77). The costume in figure 3.73 also resembles the garments in figures 3.44 and 3.70, 3.71 (the men on the right). In all of the Tabo examples cited above, the men are wearing black boots, which are different from the decorated footwear seen on the central figure in the Dukhang. It is interesting to note that the same very wide lapels also appear on the men's robes at Mangnang in western Tibet (fig. 3. 72).

(iv) Western Tibet

At Tholing the men's costume consists of a brown or light yellow long robe with narrow or broader lapels, which are of contrasting material to the main fabric (figs. 3.47, 3.48, 3.76). The wide, long sleeves have white or blue cuffs, which contrast with the brown lapels and the colour of the robe itself. In figure 3.76, the donor on the right in the upper register wears a wide white belt. All the men wear black and white felt boots. At Dungkar the man riding a ram wears a robe with wide, triangular blue and brown lapels and exceedingly long sleeves with dark blue cuffs (fig. 3.78). The brown fabric that protrudes from the left hand cuff of the rider seems to denote either a long sleeved undergarment or an inner lining of the main costume's sleeve, a detail that can also be seen inside the right hand sleeve. A long

weapon, perhaps a sword, hangs from the belt encircling the waist. The trousers are not clearly visible, although the brown hem of the robe could denote a trouser end. The shape of the costume therefore appears very similar to the one in the Assembly Hall at Tabo. The rider is wearing black boots that are identical to the ones at Tabo and Tholing. In figure 3.49, also from Dungkar, the man's robe has similar lapels to those manifest in figure 3.111 and it also has long loose sleeves. The main colour of the lapels and the cuffs is blue, while the robe itself is white.

(v) Central Tibet

There are very few depictions of secular male costume from Tibet dating to the 11th century. At Yemar, the outfit seems to consist of an outer and an inner garment (fig. 3.50; man on the right). The outer robe is slightly bell-shaped and has narrow lapels, long wide sleeves, and square-shaped shoulders (figs. 3.50, 3.79).[311] The donors behind the main figure have simpler robes, with narrow belts and lapels, and they wear near-knee length boots. Karmay has suggested that the male (and female) outfit at Yemar is "generally closer in appearance to today's Tibetan costume and may thus be considered as an intermediary stage in the development of Tibetan costume styles."[312] To the east of Yemar, the 11th century murals in the monastery of Grongkar in Lhodrak portray several male donors.[313] These men wear long robes, which have narrow belts and exceedingly long sleeves (figs. 3.117, 3.118). The lapels are wide, especially on the shoulders. The main colour of the robes is dark green, and they either have white or brown lapels. In figure 3.119 the shape of the costume is practically identical to the above, but in addition it has armbands on the

[311] Karmay (1977: 78) thinks the peculiar squared shoulders may be a representation of the collar flap.
[312] *Ibid.* 78.
[313] I am very grateful to Mr Lionel Fournier, France for drawing my attention to these images and allowing me to use them here.

upper sleeve, a feature also seen on the Dukhang costume. The man on the left has a brown robe, which has patterned lapels. The men in figures 3.117 and 3.119 wear white and black boots, which appear to be made of felt. The footwear is very similar that in the murals at Tholing and Yemar and on the Central Tibetan sculpture in figure 3.54

(vi) Conclusions

The outfits at Grongkar share the main features of the Yarlung dynasty men's costume, with the exception of the armbands. The Grongkar costumes differ, however, from those at Yemar, and thus the two sites display regional differences in their choice of clothing. In contrast, the men's costumes at Tabo, Tholing and Dungkar have substantial similarities with each other, and thereby exhibit a remarkable regional unity in men's fashion. The outfit in the Entry Hall at Tabo can be deemed to have derived directly from the Yarlung dynasty archetype. Although trousers form part of the slightly later Tabo Assembly Hall garb, it has retained the main characteristics of the ancient costume, such as the wide lapels and the ample robe.

The murals in the Assembly Hall at Tabo depict the "Pilgrimage of Sudhana", which, although based on an Indian text, portrays the participants of the narrative in Tibetan costumes.[314] This method of narrative depiction was perhaps used to help the viewer, no doubt a local Tibetan, to identify himself with the story and suggests a strong Tibetan cultural tradition at Tabo. The costumes at Tholing and Dungkar can also be considered to have a close resemblance to the Yarlung dynasty garb,

[314] Wandl: 1997: 179.

thereby demonstrating continuity in the tradition of men's fashion. 20th century Tibetan male dress still retained the basic features of the Yarlung dynasty costume, namely, the exceedingly long sleeves, the very loose shape and the belt.[315] The costume seen in figure 3.119a is a ceremonial silk gown, worn by an aristocrat for the Tibetan New Year ceremony in Lhasa in 1937. The government officials in figure 3.119b are wearing royal robes for the same event. All the costumes are ample in shape and have exceedingly long sleeves. In figure 3.119b, the robe of the man in the middle has either an undergarment or a long inner lining protruding from inside the sleeve. This feature is also seen on the costume from Dungkar in figure 3. 78. The men in figure 3.119b also sport turquoise ornaments on their hair. The costumes worn in figures 3.119a and b were said to belong to the ancient kings of Tibet,[316] and are called "gyaluche" (royal dress), which supposedly imitates the 7th-9th century dress of the Yarlung princes.[317] The costume was re-introduced in Tibet during the 14th century by Changchup Gyeltsen, and the design of the "gyaluche" is in fact closer to the 11th-12th century Tibetan costume than to the Yarlung dynasty one. Apart from the wide lapels missing on the 20th century costume, which has a Chinese collar, the modern version is remarkably similar to the one depicted in the 11th century in western Tibet (fig. 3. 78). Moreover, the shape of the footwear also seems to have remained practically the same during the ensuing centuries: Tibetan men could still be seen wearing thick felt boots in the 20th century.[318]

[315] Jones (1996): illustration on page 195, the photograph was taken in 1936.
[316] Harris and Shakya: 2003: 121. The costumes were only worn during the New Year celebrations and usually kept in the treasury at Potala Palace.
[317] Reynolds: 1999: 84 (figs. 4 and 5).
[318] *Ibid.* fig. 8, page 88; fig. 7, page 131. Jones (1996): pages 231, 196. The picture on page 181 shows a street vendor in 1986 selling traditional Tibetan boots.

We may observe, therefore, that the men's outfits from the Dukhang exhibit very few similarities with what we may call 11th century Tibetan costume, which, in turn, appears to be derived from a Yarlung dynasty prototype. The most notable differences in the Dukhang outfit when compared to the Tibetan one are the lack of lapels, the checked wide belt tied at the back instead of the single coloured narrow girdle, and the elaborate motifs. By contrast, the Tibetan robes are generally plain. The sleeves on the Dukhang costume have noticeable cuffs, which are turned up rather than let down to cover the hands. The armbands are also absent on the western Tibetan costume, and are rarely depicted elsewhere in Tibet. It is possible that they were popular in parts of Central Tibet (for example, at Grongkar), but lack of art historical evidence prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions. While the Tibetan outfit has been described as loose fitting, in the Dukhang the costumes follow the contours of the men's body, thereby implying a tight fit. These differences between the Dukhang and Tibetan costumes therefore seem to suggest a foreign origin for the Dukhang outfit.

Costume with wide lapels is popularly depicted in various artistic media in Xinjiang. For example, foreigners on Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) tomb sculpture are shown with such outfits.[319] The silver bowl in figure 3.30, which I have already mentioned, shows three men dressed in loose coats with wide lapels, cinched around the waist, and a round-necked garment beneath.[320] The loose contours and wide lapels of the Yarlung dynasty and later 11th century western Tibetan costume resemble the above, and thus the outfits worn by Tibetan men could have been influenced originally by

[319] Illustrated in Whitfield: 2004: 253.
[320] A Chinese relief of an uncertain date depicts a similar long coat with incised armbands (see von le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, 1925, fig.30).

the nomad fashion of Inner Asia. The Tibetan costume we see in figure 3.114 compares well with the round-necked costume without armbands and front opening.

A practically identical costume to the one in the Dukhang is depicted on the men in the mural at Mangyu (fig. 3.3). The pattern on the fabric seems to be block-printed with a simple design. The murals at Mangyu and in the Dukhang share the same subject matter and iconographical details and moreover the ethnic features in the physiognomy can also be considered identical. It is therefore very likely that the two murals depict people with the same non-Tibetan cultural background. The Dukhang type of robe is still worn in the Ladakhi region today, where the outfits of lower class men have no lapels, and the right side crosses over to the left (fig. 3. 120). Wealthier Ladakhi men wear an outfit with a Chinese collar and slits along the sides.[321] This seems to suggest that men of financial means were able to adopt new fashions and thus emphasise their status.

10. Turkic costume

As I have indicated, the armbands and v-neck are extremely rare on a Tibetan costume. Tamara Talbot Rice suggested the armbands were mainly associated with Turko-Islamic peoples such as the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs, although she postulated that their origins lie in pre-Islamic Central Asia, which led to her belief that the various Turkic groups transmitted the armbands to the Islamic costume.[322] One of the earliest depictions of armbands (and the most often quoted) appears on the costumes of a man and his attendants on the ceiling of Cave 1 at Ajanta (fig.

[321] According to Ahmed (2002: 117) Chinese collars became fashionable in Rupshu when Tibetan refugees arrived there in the early 1960s.
[322] Talbot-Rice: 1969: 263. The armbands refer to embroidered patterns on the sleeves, which are an integral part of the fabric, rather than separately attached.

3.60).[323] It is thought the man and his entourage are foreigners from the northwest of India.[324] This geographical definition is rather vague and the non-Indian, thick, heavy costume suggests that the participants in figure 3.60 are from a region with cold climate. The main figure in the mural is holding a cup and has a sword hanging from his belt; he also wears a fur brimmed hat. These features, discussed earlier under the Ajanta murals, clearly portray him as a non-Indian, and both his sword and headgear could imply that he is a Turk. The presence of armbands, however, was not only restricted to foreigners at Ajanta; they are also an element of the costume worn by Indians in Cave 17 (fig. 3. 121).[325]

(i) Costume with a round or a v-neck

An early depiction of Turkic costume can be seen on the 6th century Sogdian funerary couch from northern China mentioned earlier (fig. 3.85). The round-necked costume has a front opening, armbands and exceedingly long sleeves. The riders also seem to have a long weapon hanging at their side, thus suggesting the costume has a belt. Although the Ajanta tunic from Cave 1 (fig. 3.121) has a round-neck and front opening and is approximately contemporary with the Turkic costume in figure 3.85, it has also a short cape, and the costume is very tight fitting, thereby attesting to a different fashion. A gatepost on the Sogdian couch, on the other hand, portrays attendants of unknown nationality wearing a costume with a v-neck[326] (fig. 3.122). The 7th century funerary stone statue of a Turkish cupbearer from Mongolia also depicts a v-necked costume (fig. 3. 123). The 7th-8th century murals from the Sogdian town of Panjikent frequently show round-necked outfits

[323] See page 146 in this chapter.
[324] Behl: 1998: 108. A. Ghosh (1967, plate XLI) has referred to the man as possibly a Persian.
[325] See also Behl: 1998: 232.
[326] Whitfield: 2004: 114.

with a detail in the front (perhaps implying an opening), although armbands are less common (fig. 3.124).[327] According to Boris Marshak, there was an influx of Turks between the 6th and the 8th centuries into Sogdian society,[328] and thus the Panjikent society might have adopted a Turkic fashion.

Although examples of 6th-7th century Turkic costume from the steppe zone are relatively rare, what we have seen attests both to a round-necked robe with armbands, and to a plain v-necked garment. The clothing of the nomads of Turkestan and Kazakhstan in the 19th and 20th centuries includes tunics with a v- or round-neck (fig. 3.125), which suggests cultural longevity for this fashion from the steppe. The costume worn by the inhabitants of the steppe had to suit the climatic conditions and be practical for horse riding, which could explain why the shape of the outfits hardly changed over the centuries.

(ii) Uygur costume

The Uygur princes depicted in the 9th-10th century Bezeklik murals on the Northern Silk Road wear long round-necked costumes, which might have frontal closures (this is not clear in the picture) and thus resemble 6th century Turkic costume (fig. 3.84). The fabric is patterned with diamond-shape motifs, and the robes have no armbands, although such a feature does appear on the Uygur costumes in figure 3.126, also from Bezeklik.[329] The outfits in figure 3.126 may have an opening on

[327] Heller (2002a: 7) has described the front detail as "a border of separate fabric emphasising the central closure and the hem line". See Marshak (2002) figs. 85, 86 and plate 11 for a similar costume. For armbands, see Marshak (*ibid.*) figs. 21, 102, 103, 105 and plate 2.
[328] Marshak: *ibid.* 234.
[329] A mural depicting Uygur princesses depicts their costume as having thin armbands of pearl design (illustrated in Härtel and Yaldiz: 1982: fig. 109).

the right hand side.[330] Many of the Uygur costumes have a belt, which has several long hanging cords (figs. 3.84, 3.126, 3.127). Some of these cords have objects such as flint pouches, daggers or awls attached to them (figs. 3.84, 3.127). The belts we see in figure 3.126 hold only flint pouches. It is thought that rather than meant for everyday use, the hanging objects denote the person's rank.[331] Thus, the defining features on the majority of Uygur costumes are the round-neck, patterned fabric and belts with hanging objects, while armbands appear only infrequently. It seems the Uygur outfit was derived from the 6th-7th century Turkic fashion of the steppe zone (fig. 3. 85).

(iii) The belt with the hanging objects

One of the earliest examples of a belt with a hanging dagger-type weapon is on the *balbals* from Mongolia depicting Turkish cupbearers (figs. 3.21, 3.22, 3.123).[332] It is possible that the Turkic belt with a hanging dagger was a separate development from the Sasanian lobed sheath, as the Inner Asian Turks had their own nomadic traditions. Scholars have also postulated that the use of belts amongst the Uygurs was developed under the influence of nomadic cultures.[333] Approximately contemporary with the *balbals*, the late 6th-early 7th century Hephthalite murals depict costumes, which have belts with a hanging pouch and a dagger (fig. 3.20). The Turkic men seen in figure 3.86 carry long weapons, which could be swords. The envoy in figure 3.99 is depicted wearing a narrow belt with a pouch and another hanging object. As we have noted earlier, this man may not be Tibetan, and

[330] Another type of Uygur costume closes from left to right (illustrated in Esin: 1970/71: fig. 1c).
[331] Härtel and Yaldiz: 1982: 169. It should be noted though that in the entry to catalogue number 136, the authors refer to the hanging objects as for everyday use (*ibid.* 197).
[332] Otto-Dorn (1961-62, Abb. 7 and plate IVb) depict 6th-8th century belt hangings from a Turkic site in Hungary. Abb. 6 (*ibid.*) depicts stone *balbals* with elaborate belt hangings.
[333] Russell-Smith: 2005: 29-30.

his straight cut, round-necked costume does resemble a Turkic rather than a Tibetan outfit (fig. 3.85). A 10th century wall painting fragment from Iran represents a falconer, whose belt has long hanging loops, from one of which hangs a long sword (fig. 3.128). His outfit is composed of a caftan with armbands, which have Kufic inscriptions. Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar have suggested that, "the outfit of the falconer connects probably with Central Asian painting tradition of the 8th century, while his belt points to the Turkish milieu."[334]

(iv) Ghaznavid costume

Pal has suggested a wide geographical area for the appearance of the Dukhang type costume, and he has specifically mentioned the (court of the) Ghaznavids as wearers of such garments. The only surviving figural murals of the Ghaznavid dynasty are from their winter retreat of Lashkari Bazar near Bust in Afghanistan. The murals, which date from the early 11th century, were originally in the Audience Hall of the South Palace and they depict the standing Turkish guards of the Sultan Mahmud.[335] While the paintings are damaged, especially in their facial features, various details of the costume can be distinguished (fig. 3.129). The outfit is a long caftan with armbands and a belt with several hanging cords, one of which holds a pouch. The caftan closes to the left and has one big lapel on the right (fig. 3.130).[336] The fabric of the outfits is patterned, for example with large size medallions.

[334] Ettinghausen & Grabar: 1987: 250. As pointed out by Ettinghausen and Grabar, the Kufic inscription is uniquely Islamic.
[335] Schlumberger: 1952; Sims: 2002: 211. The life-size procession of the guards is thought to have numbered originally as many as 60.
[336] Schlumberger: 1952: 262.

Sims has noted very close similarities between the costumes at Lashkari Bazar and Kizil (map 4).[337] In the mid-6th to early 7th century mural in Cave 8 (the "Cave with the Sixteen Sword Bearers") at Kizil[338] the costume consists of a long jacket with one lapel only on the right hand side, narrow trousers and short boots (fig. 3.131). The late 6th - early 7th century Hephthalite murals also show robes with one lapel only (fig. 3.20), thus implying that a fashion for this type of design existed at that time. The jackets at Kizil are patterned with pearl roundels or cruciform motifs, and they also have a belt, with a hanging dagger or a short sword (for example, the man on the right in figure 3.131). The trousers, the hanging dagger, the footwear and both the shape and the motifs of the jacket are clearly derived from a Sasanian prototype. The coats at Kizil, however, do not have the armbands or the belt with hanging cords and a pouch, features that can clearly be seen in the Ghaznavid mural and on Uygur donors (figs. 3.84, 3.127 and especially 3.126).

The Ghaznavid costumes instanced above are patterned with large elaborate medallions or with drop-shape motifs (figs. 3. 129, 3. 130), and although Sims has expressed reservation as to whether the textiles actually imitated existing ones, it does seem likely this was the case.[339] The differentiation between various types of costumes in itself implies the artists were copying from real life examples, and it is thus very likely the same method was used in portraying the actual textile motifs. The depiction of patterned fabrics was widely spread in Central Asian arts, one of the earliest examples of which can be seen in the Hephthalite murals (fig. 3. 20).

[337] Sims: 2002: 212. It should be noted though that not all the men's costumes at Kizil resemble the Ghaznavid ones. Schlumberger (1952: 265) has also argued that the Ghaznavid costumes are of Central Asian origin, which can be seen in the Buddhist art of the region.
[338] Howard: 1991: 70.
[339] Sims: 2002: 212.

The textile motifs continued to be portrayed in the Buddhist arts of Xinjiang, and they also formed a part of the artistic corous in Tibet.

(v) Belt with a front loop and hanging pendants at Yemar

As suggested above, the belt with a pouch and other objects hanging from it is considered specifically as part of an Inner Asian Turkic costume. The robes of the clay Bodhisattvas in the 11th century Amitayus Temple at Yemar have belts with a front loop and long pendants (cords) hanging from them (fig. 3.132).[340] According to Marilyn Rhie, the front loop of the belt is rare in art historical examples, and only comparable to the ones depicted on kingly figures in the late 9th-early 10th century Cave 20 at Bezeklik on the Northern Silk Road.[341] Rhie has also referred to a mural in Dunhuang Cave 454 (*c.* 960-1036), which depicts a man wearing a dark red robe and a Tibetan-type turban crown. The robe has a narrow belt with long hanging pendants, and Rhie has suggested the man represents a Tibetan ruler.[342] The Tibetan royal costume in figure 3.56 does not have a belt with pendants, although it has an ample shape, as does the robe in figure 3.132. Rhie has also cited a 12th century thangka depicting a donor wearing Tibetan style clothes, which have a belt with pendants.[343] It must be emphasised though that the belt with long pendants does not appear in connection with the previously discussed Tibetan men's clothing, and thus it seems likely it did not normally belong to the secular Tibetan costume.

[340] Rhie: 1997: 45.
[341] *Ibid.*
[342] *Ibid.* 44-5. (Illustrated in Rhie: *ibid*, fig. 17, p. 44.)
[343] *Ibid.* 45. (Illustrated in Rhie: *ibid*, fig. 18, p. 44.)

(vi) Seljuq costume

Surviving Seljuq art works from 12th century Iran show both the v-neck and the armbands on costumes. It seems that the v-neck and the armbands also formed part of the Seljuq outfit in the 11th century, but there is no art historical material preserved to confirm this. According to Tamara Talbot Rice, the Seljuqs reserved the armbands for men, who held high rank either in society, the army or at court.[344] Only three mural fragments belonging to the Seljuq figural wall painting tradition have survived, although there are references in Seljuq poetry to different types of painting in buildings.[345] A 12th century mural (now lost, but known from an early photograph) depicted rows of seated men and although the fragment was damaged, a v-neck could be discerned on the costumes, some of which were patterned (fig. 3. 133). The undergarment had a round neck, and armbands were also visible on three of the costumes. All the men wore a plaited hairstyle and had haloes painted around their heads.

In another mural dated to the 12th or 13th century, a row of seven men is depicted in the middle register (fig. 3.134). They all wear long caftan-type garments, which have v-necks although not as deep as the one on the Dukhang outfit. Sims has suggested the costumes close either in the centre or on the right.[346] Some of the costumes are patterned, for example, with a design of vertical stripes or with medallions (the two men on the right). Most of the garments also have armbands. The men are haloed, but their hairstyle is shorter than that represented in figure

[344] Talbot Rice: 1969: 274.
[345] Sims: 2002: 38. The references suggest differences in size of the paintings, ranging from small paintings to large ones. The paintings would have been in buildings such as palaces.
[346] *Ibid.* 122.

3.133. Five men in the centre of the middle row are kneeling either on both knees or on one, while the two men on the left and right hand side of the middle row are standing. The lower register portrays two haloed men on horseback, while in the uppermost register there are running animals.

A very badly damaged fragment (now lost, but known from an early photograph) of a wall painting from Iran was also dated to the 12th-13th century, and depicted ten men portrayed against architectural elements, such as an arch and a pillar (fig. 3.135). The standing men in the front of the mural wore long, v-neck costumes with armbands.[347] A long striped belt was seen around the waists of two of the men whose pattern and shape are similar to the headgear sported by the Dukhang central figure. However, the actual belt of the Dukhang costume is much wider and seems to be tied at the back. It should be noted that in other Seljuq artistic media, such as 12th–13th century ceramics the costume is frequently shown with a round neck and without the belt, which suggests this type of outfit was popular (figs. 3.27, 3.36, 3.37, 3.38, 3.93, 3.96).[348]

(vii) Fatimid costume

Central Asian Turkic costume can also be found in regions beyond those under Turko-Islamic control. An 11th century Fatimid dynasty (969-1171) drawing from Fustat, the old capital of Egypt depicts two warriors (fig. 3. 136). The men's patterned knee-length costumes have remarkable similarities to the Dukhang one,

[347] Sims has described the costumes front closing and as knee-length, but they appear to be longer (*ibid.* 102).
[348] See also, for example, fig. 45 in Roxburgh (2005). The round neck is also seen on many 13th century examples.

as they have a v-neck and embroidered armbands.[349] The warrior on the right wears a long striped belt tied around his waist, and a very similar belt may be seen on the Seljuq costume in figure 3. 135. The warrior on the left has a belt with a hanging sword and long pendants, which is identical to the one depicted on the 10th century falconer in figure 3.128, thus confirming its Turkic origin. The Fatimid belt with long pendants also has similarities to the Ghaznavid one (figs. 3. 129, 3. 130). The armbands of the Fatimid costume are inscribed like the ones on the Turkic robe in figure 3.128. Both warriors wear patterned trousers, which are similar in shape to the ones in the Dukhang. The man on the right wears a turban, while the warrior on the left has a helmet-type headdress with two horns, which could denote military insignia.

The details of the belt and the armbands on the costume suggest a Turkic origin for the men's outfit. The Fatimid dynasty employed Turkic merchant soldiers in its army,[350] and the above evidence implies they wore their v-necked costume even in Egypt, where the climatic conditions were quite different from those of Central Asia. The turban is likely to reflect the hot climate in Egypt, where it seems to have been a regional addition to the otherwise Central Asian Turkic costume. This discussion implies that the v-neck was a feature on some Turkic costumes, and it also supports the suggestion that Islamic garb adopted armbands from the Turkic fashion of Central Asia.[351]

---

[349] A fragment of an 11th century Fatimid lusterware vessel depicts a rider wearing a v-neck costume with plain armbands (illustrated in Watson: 2004: 276, Cat. Ja. 3; accession number LNS 1078 C b). Hillenbrand (1999: 71, fig. 52) has described the costume as chain mail rather than patterned.

[350] Contadini: 1998: 3. The Turkish personnel were known as *mashariqa* (Easterners). Initially, the Fatimid army depended on Berbers (Westerners) recruited from North Africa, who were instrumental in conquering Egypt (*ibid.*).

[351] See page 173 in this chapter.

11. Armbands in Tibetan art and in Jain manuscripts

Armbands, v-necks and textile motifs are the most visible aspects the Dukhang costume shares with the Turko-Islamic garb discussed above. These features occur rarely on Tibetan male costume, although one of the exceptions is the robe from Grongkar (Lhodrak) in Central Tibet in figure 3.119, which does have armbands. The 11th century northeastern stupa at Tholing depicts male donors, all of whom are wearing dhotis and short tight fitting jackets (figs. 3.137, 3.138, 3.139). Most of the jackets have armbands (figs. 3.137, man on the right; 3.138; 3.139, man on the left), which seem to form part of the fabric. The jackets have a pointed lapel on one side only. This type of jacket is unique amongst the Tibetan costumes discussed so far, but the feature is depicted on the jacket in the 6th-7th century mural at Kizil (fig. 3.131).[352] However, the Kizil jacket is long rather than short. Apart from the one lapel feature, the outfits at Tholing are lightweight compared to the Tibetan heavy long-sleeved robes, and therefore are likely to be non-Tibetan.

Costumes similar to those at Tholing are also depicted in the Assembly Hall at Tabo.[353] In the mural known as "Request to Depart to Lumbini" from the narrative of the Life of the Buddha, the seated king in figure 3. 102 wears a tight-fitting, short jacket, which is open in the front. The long sleeved, round-necked jacket has armbands and is patterned with single roundels and stripes.[354] The lower garment could be a dhoti,[355] and the patterned boots are knee-length. The open jacket of the

[352] A long coat with one-lapel only is depicted on the 7th-9th century wooden figure of a groom, which was found in Astana, Turfan (Northern Silk Road). The groom is described as non-Chinese (illustrated in *The Ancient Art in Xinjiang, China*; 1994; fig. 322, p. 126).
[353] Wandl (1997: 180, 183) has noted that these types of costumes are depicted on very few men in Tabo, and they only appear in the Buddhist narrative scenes.
[354] *Ibid.* 181-82. Wandl has described the armband as " a band like insertion".
[355] *Ibid.* 181. The dhoti is not clearly visible, and thus the lower part of the outfit could also be tight-fitting trousers, and the grey and white material wrapped around the waist could be a shawl.

haloed man in figure 3.140 at Tabo has armbands, which are identical to the ones seen in figure 3.102. Jain manuscript illustrations from Gujarat in western India and from Rajasthan in the northwest of the country furnish comparative material to the costumes at Tabo and Tholing. While the illustrations are in a miniature form, they contain many details of costume and textile ornamentation. The earliest extant illustrated Jain palm-leaf manuscript dates from 1060 AD[356] and the tradition continued until about the fifteenth century. The jackets depicted in a *c.*1130 Jain wooden manuscript cover are short sleeved and have armbands (figs. 3.141, 3.142, 3.143). Some of the armbands however, seem to be tied to the arm of the jacket, as a kind of external decorative device rather than being part of the fabric (this is especially clear in fig. 3.143). It is possible that the man in the middle in fig. 3.144 (dated to *c.*mid-12th century) wears a one-lapelled green jacket, which seemingly protrudes slightly on the right hand side.

A comparative example to the two-lapelled jacket at Tholing is depicted in two, *c.* 11th century two Jain manuscript covers from Rajasthan (figs. 3.145 man on the left; 3.146, man on the right). It should be noted that most of the Jain jackets have three-quarter sleeves rather than the full length ones as seen at Tabo and on the donors at Tholing (figs. 3.102, 3.137, 3.138, 3.139). The hairstyle with the chignon at the nape of the neck, worn by the king at Tabo (fig. 3.102) is also frequently depicted in the Jain illustrations (figs. 3.141, 3.143, 3.146). The other non-Tibetan type costume at Tabo appears in the mural depicting the journey of Queen Maya to give birth to the Buddha in Lumbini. The men's outfit consists of a tight-fitting, long

[356] Khandalavala and Doshi: 1975: 395.

sleeved tunic, which has a round neck and armbands (figs. 3.100, 3.103, 3. 147).[357] Over their left shoulder, these men wear either plain or striped shawls. Many of the men in figure 3.100 carry swords, and so could be soldiers. The lower part of the costume could either be trousers or a dhoti, and the footwear consists of high boots fashioned from animal skin.[358] The headgear with a long piece of material that covers the neck and falls down the back has already been discussed in connection with Tabo, and Wandl has argued that it has similarities to 12th century headdress in Iranian art,[359] by which she presumably means the art of the Seljuqs. However, the majority of 12th-13th century Seljuq headdresses consist of a small cap with long pieces of material hanging from it,[360] and therefore is quite different from what we see at Tabo.

Dhotis commonly form part of the men's outfit in Jain manuscripts, and the earliest instance of the shawl, or *chadar* can be found at Ajanta.[361] Apart from the dhoti and the shawl, the men's long sleeved tunics and their headgear (figs. 3.100, 3.103, 3.147) do not really resemble costumes in the Jain manuscripts, but instead tunics with armbands are depicted twice in the Ajanta murals. The king on horseback wears such a tunic and tight fitting trousers, and he also has a shawl wrapped around his waist (fig. 3.121).[362] Thus the soldiers' outfit at Tabo is very similar to the one at Ajanta, and seems to have developed from the earlier, 5th-6th century

---

[357] Wandl: 1997: 181.
[358] *Ibid.*
[359] *Ibid.* 182. She has not specified the Iranian examples.
[360] Perhaps Wandl (*ibid.*) is referring to these long pieces of material on the Seljuq headdress as "similar turban-like head gear...with attached pieces of cloth for the protection of the neck," in her discussion on the headgear at Tabo.
[361] *Ibid.* 182. A white shawl with red stripes is depicted on a man in Cave 1 at Ajanta. The Ajanta murals have numerous examples of men wearing dhotis, which are frequently shown with stripes.
[362] Behl: 1998: 232.

Indian costume. These types of outfits were perhaps made for riding as we see them worn by men on horseback.

The headdress worn by the mounted men at Tabo (figs. 3.100, 3.103, 3.147) attests to a hot climate and therefore the men are likely to be Indian rather than from the Himalayan region. Furthermore, these costumes at Tabo appear on those people participating in the narratives of the early events in the Buddha's life and as we might expect, the Buddha's immediate family is depicted as Indian.[363] The facial features of the men in the Jain illustrations are very similar to the Tholing and Tabo figures and this could imply the artists at both sites were familiar with Indian painting styles from the west and northwest. The clothing and physiognomy of the donor figures at Tholing suggest that they are likely to portray Indian rather than Tibetan men.[364]

12. Conclusions

Moti Chandra, who was one of the first scholars to acknowledge the importance of the Jain manuscript illustrations for the study of Gujarati costume,[365] suggested that the short, half-sleeved open jacket could have been of Central Asian or Persian origin, brought over to Gujarat by merchants from those regions.[366] The long-sleeved jackets at Tabo and Tholing could be a further development from the short-sleeved jacket depicted in the Jain illustrations. The representations of costumes

[363] Wandl: 1997: 179.
[364] Heller (2000:17) has discussed a Yarlung dynasty statue, which was excavated in a mid 8th-early 9th century tomb in Grahang, Central Tibet. The statue represents a man on horseback, who is wearing a short dhoti with diagonal stripes and a short-sleeved shirt with armbands. The rider's hair is in a chignon at the nape of his neck. The description of his outfit and hairstyle bears a strong resemblance to the Tholing and Tabo examples discussed above.
[365] Chandra: 1949: 114 and *passim*.
[366] *Ibid.* 121-22. Chandra particularly notes that the half-sleeved jacket is not depicted at Ajanta.

with armbands in the Ajanta murals attest to their early popularity in India, and seemingly the fashion continued into the 11th century. It is likely that the costumes with armbands at Tabo and Tholing originated from India rather than from Inner Asia, as they are seemingly made of light fabric with printed motifs. The origin of the one-lapelled jackets could have been non-Indian, as their earliest appearance is at Kizil (fig. 3.131). Arab merchants, who were settled on the western coast of India by the 10th century, had supremacy in trading and commerce,[367] and it is thus very possible that they were instrumental in introducing new fashions and customs to western India.

The comparison of the motifs on the Dukhang costume

1. Dukhang textile motifs

The Dukhang textile motifs feature several linked white roundels, inside each of which a single white animal is depicted against a dark blue background (fig. 3.148). The thin outline of the roundels is dark blue while the red interstitial motif between the roundels seems to be cruciform or merely drawn as four large dots, which resemble a sketchy four-petalled flower. For some reason, the roundels underneath the v-neck and on the left elbow are depicted without the dark background. The four-legged animals inside the roundels are portrayed in a similar haphazard manner to the interstitial motifs. This could either imply that the artist was not familiar with the depiction of these types of motifs, or that he was attempting to portray a particular type of textile technique. The main colour of the outfit is white, although the motifs cover most of the fabric

[367] Jain: 1990: 72-3. Pingree (1981-82: 172) notes that the earliest Sanskrit records pertaining to Muslims in western India date from the 730s.

2. Sasanian textile motifs

Both Snellgrove and Flood have implied that the textile motifs on the Dukhang costume were Sasanian inspired. Both temporally and geographically, this is rather vague and thus it is perhaps more accurate to say that the motifs on the Dukhang costume belong to a context of post-Sasanian art. The meaning of this term can also be rather wide and even misleading, and thus an attempt will be made below to place the textile motifs in a more defined temporal and cultural context. Although the textiles are in a painted form in the Dukhang, the assumption is that they were copied after existing designs.

According to Otavsky, the rock reliefs at Taq-i Bustan in Iran form the only reliable source on Sasanian textile art.[368] In addition to the investiture of Khusro II, the rock reliefs depict a mounted king in armour and two hunting scenes.[369] Otavsky has argued that the latter should be seen as ceremonial procedures, which were performed during the official enthronement of a new king.[370] The people in the royal boat hunting the boar have elaborately patterned costumes (fig. 3.149), on which several different designs can be detected.[371] The king's costume has motifs of flowers enclosed within roundels, and the design of the roundel is very similar to the Dukhang one. According to Otavsky, patterned fabrics and richly decorated borders signify the high social rank of the men in figure 3.149.[372]

[368] Otavsky: 1998: 7 (when citing Otavsky (1998) in the text, the page numbers refer to the English translation).
[369] *Ibid.*
[370] *Ibid.*
[371] *Ibid.*10-11.
[372] *Ibid.*9.

In his discussion on the Dukhang costume, Flood has cited a motif of a lion enclosed inside a pearl roundel on a king's robe on the post-Sasanian silver plate in figure 3.13.[373] Motifs such as strings of pearls and medallions were frequently used in Sasanian courtly art, where especially the former can be seen decorating royal costumes (figs. 3.113, 3.150).[374] The boar and the senmurv motifs are also thought to have formed part of courtly iconography.[375] Other popular motifs in Sasanian decorative arts and more importantly, on Sasanian seals were animals such as horses, rams, goats, ducks and hares, where the animals usually appear singly and, more rarely, in pairs. [376]

The Sasanian inspired pearl roundel appears in many murals of the Buddhist cave sites and on excavated textile fragments from Xinjiang, which attests both to its popularity and its longevity in the eastern post-Sasanian world.[377] Similarly many of the other Sasanian motifs were transferred over the centuries to the east and west, where they were adapted to local tastes. According to Otavsky, typical of the post-Sasanian, early mediaeval fabrics found in Central Asia and Western Europe is the formal simplification and reduction of the wealth of Sasanian motifs.[378] These fabrics exhibit medallions inside which are depicted toy-like, stylised animals facing each other.[379] Otavsky has suggested that this style was developed in the 8th

[373] Flood: 2005: 75, fig. 3. It should be noted though that on most of the extant Sasanian silverware, the king is depicted wearing a costume, which has no visible motifs. Hillenbrand has described the motif in figure 3.13 as unrecognisable (see page 97 in this chapter).
[374] Otavsky: 1998: 7. According to Otavsky, the Sasanian pearl motif had a religious significance.
[375] *Ibid.* 4. Senmurv is a mythical archetypal bird, with the body of a dog, lion claws, wings and a peacock's tail.
[376] *Ibid.* 3-4. Otavsky has argued that the numerous anonymous seals of the middle classes, which were part of every day life in Sasanian Iran, illustrate the popularity of certain motifs.
[377] For example, a painted motif of a duck enclosed within a pearl roundel can be found at Kizil (*c.* 6th-7th century) on the Northern Silk Road. Also, many actual textile fragments have been found in Xinjiang that depict animals inside pearl roundels (see Otavsky: 1998).
[378] Otavsky: 1998: 42.
[379] *Ibid.*

and 9th centuries between Gansu and Khorasan (eastern Iran), as a *later vulgarised adaptation of Sasanian textile decoration.*[380] Thus the geographical area where post-Sasanian textiles were produced is huge and the altered Sasanian motifs reflect the popular demand for these types of fabrics. In these popularised fabrics, the Sasanian royal iconography lost its meaning, a process which may also be noted with regard to the Sasanian derived Turkic costume. It should be noted that the motifs on the Dukhang costume do not appear to fit into the above category of later vulgarised adaptation of Sasanian textile decoration. As the costume is in a painted form rather than an actual textile, its possible provenance may be suggested by comparisons with other contemporary 11th century art historical material.

3. Textile motifs at Tabo

My earlier analysis has demonstrated that in general Tibetan men's costume is without textile motifs. At Tabo, ethnic Tibetans wear patterned robes only in the murals in the Entry Hall (figs. 3. 69, 3. 115): here it is the costume of the noble men, which manifests a faint motif of large four-petalled flowers (fig. 3.69).[381] The difference between the Entry Hall and the later Tibetan costumes at Tabo suggests a fashion in the late 10th century for patterned men's robes. In contrast to the plain Tibetan outfits, those worn by the non-Tibetans at Tabo, possibly Indians, show a variety of motifs (figs. 3.102, 3.111, 3.100, 3.103, 3.140).[382] According to Wandl, amongst the most frequently occurring motifs are crosses, dots, small circles, lines, rosettes, simple flowers, several cross forms, zigzag lines and tendrils of vine,

[380] *Ibid.* 43. Italics mine.
[381] Wandl (1997: 184) notes that the Entry Hall motifs are large, and are thus different from the others at Tabo.
[382] *Ibid.* 183-84.

which are very often organised in stripes.[383] Figure 3.140 illustrates the use of multiple small motifs on the same textile and the designs on the lower garment of the haloed man compare favourably with the red interstitial motifs on the Dukhang costume. An identical roundel to the Dukhang motif appears on the jacket of a seated foreigner in the Assembly Hall, although it is not linked to other roundels (fig. 3.102). Apart from the secular costume, a linked roundel appears painted in the ceiling of the Assembly Hall (fig. 3.151) and on the dhotis of Amoghasiddhi (fig. 3.152) and the Tantric goddess Locana.[384] Thus, at Tabo the use of the linked roundel was reserved for the costumes of Buddhist deities rather than those of ordinary people.

4. Textile motifs on the costumes in western and Central Tibet

A close parallel to the Dukhang motif can only be found on a single secular costume in the Sumtsek at Alchi. The mural, on the ground, floor depicts a man wearing a v-necked upper garment with three-quarter sleeves (fig. 3.153). The garment also has armbands and a band across the lower part of the chest. The motif inside the linked roundels appears to be a more stylised version of the Dukhang creature. As in the Dukhang, both the roundel and the creature are white, drawn against a dark background. The pattern of the 11th century donor's costume at Tholing (fig. 3.137; man on the right) consists of linked roundels with a fantastic creature inside, which is very similar to the Dukhang and Sumtsek motifs. A comparable motif is also visible on the lower garment of a Buddhist goddess on the

[383] *Ibid.* 184.
[384] See Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 115, p. 118.

first floor of the Sumtsek.[385] Here the motif with the creature is inside a blue roundel, whose outline disappears into the white background of the fabric.

An 11th century Buddhist manuscript painting from Poo in Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh depicts a Buddha, whose robe exhibits a pattern of linked roundels[386] (fig. 3.154; map 13). Each of the roundels encloses a flower, without interstitial motifs. A similar linked roundel occurs on the Buddha in figure 3.155 from the same manuscript. One of the roundels encloses a bird, and the interstitial motif is clearly a flower. The size of the Dukhang roundel seems to fall between these two examples from Poo. At Tholing, the pattern on the shoulders of the jacket we see in figure 3.138 consists of small, linked roundels with floral motifs inside. Similar linked roundels, usually enclosing a floral motif are also depicted on the dhotis of 11th-13th century Buddhist deities on western Tibetan metal sculpture. Approximately contemporary with the Dukhang mural is a metal sculpture of Avalokiteshvara (dated to the first half of the 11th century) from western Tibet, whose dhoti has a pattern of linked roundels with a floral pattern inside (fig. 3.156).[387]

In Tibet, the 11th century clay sculptures of Bodhisattvas in the temple of Yemar wear robes adorned with elaborate medallions (fig. 3.132). The pearl roundel medallions enclose an identical smaller roundel, with a motif inside (fig. 3.157). At least one of them is a flower (fig. 3.158) although it is not possible to define the

[385] See Goepper 1996 (a): 157.
[386]The manuscript is discussed by Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (1998). She states, "it has always been my assumption that the patterns show the application of specific techniques and were copied after existing textiles" (*ibid.* 158).
[387] This image is also illustrated in Heller: 1999, fig. 34. For a similar example, see Pal: 2003, fig. 86, which depicts a Bodhisattva from Guge and is also dated to the first half of the 11th century.

other designs. An identical double pearl roundel is painted on the ceiling of the Sumtsek, but here the motif inside the second roundel is either a rider on a horse or an elephant (fig. 3.159).[388] It should be noted that pearl roundels painted on actual cloth, and attached to the ceiling of the Ambulatory and the Cella at Tabo have been carbon-14 dated to the late 10th-first half of the 11th century.[389] These types of pearl roundels but enclosing different motifs are also depicted on the ceiling of the Sumtsek.

5. Islamic motifs

Outside the Tibetan realm and further to the west of Alchi, a very similar depiction to the Dukhang motifs (fig. 3. 148) can be found on *c.*mid-12th – early-13th century tile fragments from Ghazni, Afghanistan (figs. 3.160, 3.161, 3.162, 3.163). The design on those of figures 3.160 and 3.161 has been described as a feline, possibly a lion, whose tail ends in a floral device, while the animal on the fragments shown in figures 3.162 and 3.163 is possibly a gazelle.[390] Significantly, it has been suggested that the tile designs were copied from textiles.[391] In both the Dukhang and Ghazni examples, the animal is depicted in a similar, haphazard manner. The Ghazni creatures in figures 3.160, 3.162 and 3.163 lift their front leg, as does the Dukhang one. Furthermore, the animals' portrayal is fantastic rather than realistic. If the tile fragments are dated to *c.*1200, then it is possible that the motif was inspired by Indian designs. The Ghaznavids made frequent military and looting forays into the

[388] Illustrated in Goepper (1996a), page 230, the panel on the right.
[389] Wandl: 1997: 184, figs. 17, 158, 196.
[390] Scerrato: 1962: 264.
[391] *Ibid.* 269-70. Scerrato suggested the tiles were likely to have been used as wall-decoration. Hillenbrand (1982: 129) has also noted that the designs of single animals semi-rampant or passant resemble textiles. He dates the Ghazni tiles to *c.*1200.

northern India, where they encountered Indian culture and artefacts,[392] and these foreign influences could have lingered on long after the demise of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Merchants are likely to have been influential in transmitting new artistic ideas in their activity of exporting goods, such as textiles to the region.

An actual *c.*11th century dark brown and white silk fragment from Ray, Iran has large medallion motifs, which are encircled by smaller roundels and complex interstitial motifs (fig. 3.164: map 12, "Rayy").[393] Inside the main medallion paired griffins and birds occur, which seem to fit Otavsky's definition of "the later vulgarised adaptation of Sasanian textile decoration." The surrounding roundels are the same shape as the Dukhang ones and also enclose animal motifs of a bird and a griffin. The principle behind these smaller motifs is similar to those from the Dukhang as the roundels in both examples depict single animals rather than pairs. However, the roundels are not linked on the Ray textile, and the wide array of designs and defined interstitial motifs of paired birds give an impression of a technically more complex piece than the Dukhang textile.

6. Indian textiles

The principal evidence for extant medieval Indian textiles comes from Fustat, Egypt, which was an entrepôt for foreign goods. The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford has the largest quantity of Indian export textiles collected in Egypt. Ruth Barnes, a textile historian in the Department of Eastern Art in the Ashmolean Museum, has catalogued the collection, which contains over one

[392] Bosworth: 1963: 77-8.
[393] I would like to thank Ms Helen Persson, curator (collections management), Asian Department in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London for showing me this and other fragments from the museum's holdings.

thousand textile fragments.[394] The collection consists of resist- and mordant-dyed textiles, which are mostly block-printed and generally of Indian origin.[395] The importance of the collection lies in the fact that although there are many references to textiles in Indian written records and artistic media, such as the Jain manuscripts, extremely few pre-14th century textiles have survived the Indian climate. The vast majority of the Newberry collection pieces can be dated between the 14th and 17th centuries, although two fragments (238 and 311 in the Newberry Collection) have been radiocarbon dated to the 11th century.[396]

According to Barnes, most of the Newberry textiles were made in northwestern India and were exported to Egypt through the Gujarati ports.[397] She is also certain that the two 11th century samples cited above (figs. 3.165, 3.166) are Indian in origin, and has convincingly compared their design to the 11th century wooden covers of Jain manuscripts.[398] Barnes has pointed out that the vine design and the lotus blossom in profile appearing on the covers exhibit great similarity to the two textiles (figs. 3.165, 3.166).[399] Here we have confirmation of the art historical evidence through the technical analysis of the printed textile fragments.

---

[394] Ruth Barnes: 1997: vols. I and II.
[395] *Ibid.* 1(vol. I).
[396] *Ibid,* chapter 4. Sixteen textile fragments were C-14 tested; one of them gave a date of 1010 AD +/-55, the other 1060+/-40 (catalogue numbers 238 and 311 in Barnes, 1997). John Guy (1998: 42) published another fragment from the Newberry Collection in 1998, by which date it had been tested and given a date of 895+/-75 years. This is the earliest known Indian export textile. The fragment is also illustrated in Barnes (1997, vol. II, catalogue number 241). On the upper row of the textile are visible the backs of two elephants, while in the lower row are two fragmentary horses; both rows are set between bands of continuous vines.
[397] Barnes: 1997: vol. I: 122. According to Barnes (*ibid.* 77), by the 16th century the block-printed resist-and mordant-dyed cloth was particularly associated with northwestern India, specifically with Gujarat. The technique is also found in Rajasthan.
[398] *Ibid.* 38-9.
[399] *Ibid.* 38.

The designs on the Newberry textiles of Indian origin are usually block-printed, and thus the design is in the surface decoration, not through the weave.[400] Two methods are used to achieve these block-printed textiles namely, resist- or mordant-dyeing. Barnes has discussed both in the context of on the Indian textiles from the Newberry collection, and begins with pure resist-dyeing.[401] In resist-dyeing, those parts of the textile that should not take the dye are covered with a wax or paste resist (or barrier) before dyeing.[402] This method enables several colours to be used on the same textile or the use of one colour with a non-dyed pattern reserved against it.[403] For example, this effect can be seen on the late 10^{th}-11^{th} century fragment (fig. 3.165) where the resist defines the design (mustard colour) on a blue background (the dyed area).[404] Several techniques of resist dyeing on woven fabric can be distinguished, which include wrapping parts of the textile and tying the textile partly in knots.[405] The wrapped or tied parts do not soak up the dye, and thus remain in their original colour. Next Barnes addresses mordant-dyeing, which does not necessarily employ resist, and which she classes as a separate technique from resist-dyeing.[406] In this second technique, the mordant covered areas of the fabric soak up the dye while the untreated, "non-mordant" area does not take the dye.[407]

[400] Barnes: n.d. 42. When the designs are tied into the warp, weft, or both before weaving, the technique is called ikat. The design of the textile is therefore created before the textile itself is woven (Barnes: 1997: vol. I: 53). Ikats are classified as luxury textiles.
[401] Barnes: n.d. 42.
[402] *Ibid.*
[403] Crill: 1998: 9.
[404] Barnes (1997: vol. II: 68) discusses the fragment in detail.
[405] Barnes: 1997: vol. I: 54.
[406] *Ibid.* Mordant can be used instead of, or in addition to resist. In both cases, the term mordant-dyed should be used as it clarifies the technique.
[407] *Ibid.*

According to Barnes, it is possible that the Dukhang costume was mordant-printed or painted.[408] She notes that mordant is needed for all forms of red-based dyes, which can be dark-brown or even almost black, and certainly the background of the Dukhang roundel is very dark.[409] The red interstitial motifs on the costume and the faint brownish red outline of the armbands also could imply mordant-dyeing. The mordant can either be printed or painted onto the fabric which means that an alum substance is applied to the fabric, either in a liquid form with a brush, or floated in a printable medium to give it more body so it can be picked up by a stamp.[410] Mattiebelle Gittinger has discussed a 15th to 17th century Indian cotton fragment found in Fustat, where mordants were applied by stamps to create outlines of the figures and then the colour of the background, leaving the figures in the same colour as the cotton textile.[411] The same can also be said of the Dukhang costume, where the creature inside the roundel is white, as is the colour of the main fabric.

The shape of the Dukhang roundel is also comparable to the ones depicted in the Jain manuscript covers and illustrations.[412] The roundel in figure 3.167 is from a mid-12th century wooden manuscript cover and its size is approximately the same as the Poo roundel in figure 3.154. A Jain palm-leaf miniature from Rajasthan, dated to 1161 AD depicts the goddess Mahajvala, whose dhoti has red flowers inside linked roundels (fig. 3.168). An illustrated Jain book-cover from Rajasthan (dated to the first half of the 12th century)[413] shows a plain roundel very similar to

[408] Personal communication with Dr Ruth Barnes, 29. 3. 2006.
[409] *Ibid.* Different shades are achieved by adding different substances to the basic mordant mixture.
[410] *Ibid.*
[411] Gittinger: 1982: 46, fig. 31. Gittinger has noted that the human figures on Fustat textiles are rare.
[412] John Guy (1998: 57) has suggested that the interlinking circles design (or linked roundels) appears in early Indian ornamentation from at least as early as the 1st century BC.
[413] Khandalavala and Dosh: 1975: 399, 401. The authors have compared this and other similar manuscript covers to the painted ceilings in the Ajanta caves, which have floral, animal and foliage designs.

the Dukhang one, which either encloses an elephant, a bird or a lion (fig. 3.169; the far left motif). The lion's fantastic shape is reminiscent in its style to the Dukhang creature, especially the end of its tail, the upright ears and the paws.

According to Wandl several different techniques can be detected from the representation of textiles at Tabo, many of which are resist-dyeing.[414] In fact, all the techniques suggested by her are types of resist-dyeing. For example, the resists were applied by printing blocks for the repetitive, small motifs seen on some of the textiles at Tabo (figs. 3.170, 3.171).[415] The simple textile motifs observed in figures 3.100, 3.102 3.103, 3.140 are also clearly reminiscent of Indian block-printed fabrics. Similar motifs can be discerned on the Tholing jackets, thus attesting to their widespread popularity in the 11th century. In figure 3.137 the main pattern of red geometric motifs within bands resembles block-printing technique (compare to fig. 3.170 from Tabo). Animal designs appear rarely on textile depictions at Tabo, and are only portrayed on Buddhist deities. The motif of geese in rows, for example, can be seen on the dhoti worn by a deity in figure 3.172.[416] At Tabo, therefore, apart from deities, textiles with motifs, albeit simple ones, are reserved for *foreigners*.

If we exclude the secular costumes in the Dukhang and the Sumtsek at Alchi, and the jacket of the Tholing donor (fig. 3.137), we may note that in Tibetan art the linked roundel motif mostly appears on the dhotis of Buddhist deities, and would appear to have had a limited use on ordinary men's outfits. Furthermore, the linked

[414] Wandl: 1997: 184.
[415] *Ibid.*
[416] See figures 2. 38 and 2. 39 in this thesis, which depict the motif painted on the ceiling of Mangyu and the Sumtsek.

roundel enclosing a creature appears rarely, and then only on the costumes of people with status and rank, which in turn implies luxury fabrics.[417] The patterned fabric of the costume in the Dukhang contrasts sharply with the plain Tibetan outfits at Tabo and other western Tibetan sites. This strongly suggests that the Dukhang outfit is of foreign origin and its wearer is meant to be a non-Tibetan man. It seems that the artistic inspiration for the Dukhang textile motif should be sought in the textile traditions of western or northwestern India. The actual manufacture of the textile is likely to have derived from Indian techniques and thus is likely to have been exported to Ladakh.

7. Conclusions

In the foregoing art historical comparison I have demonstrated that the Dukhang costume is not derived from Tibetan male dress, but instead it is a later Turkic version of a Sasanian prototype. However, it does not have the features seen on the majority of the Turkic outfits such as the belt with a hanging pouch and other objects, the wide lapels or the round-neck. Rather, the design of the Dukhang costume appears to have been influenced by a specific Turkic model, which had a v-neck and armbands. The v-necked caftan with armbands and trousers, worn with short boots in the 11th century Fatimid drawing (fig. 3.136) corresponds closely to the Dukhang garment. Furthermore, the nearest parallel to the Dukhang headband is depicted on the textile also found in Egypt (fig. 3.110), and significantly, both the headband and the outfit ultimately have a Turkic origin. The Dukhang garb also has a strong resemblance to *some* Seljuq costumes (figs. 3.134, 3.135), but it differs significantly from the popular 12th-13th century Turko-Islamic outfit. The textile

[417] See page 188 above for Otavsky's comments on Sasanian decorated fabrics.

motifs of the Dukhang costume, on the other hand, appear to have been influenced by 11th century designs from northwestern India. The Dukhang costume is likely to represent an earlier 11th century Turkic outfit, derived, it would appear, from archaic steppe fashion. The patterned fabric and the armbands of the caftan suggest that its wearer was a man of high status, and thus this type of costume may have been reserved for people who had political and military power.

8. Gilgit costume

Deborah Klimburg-Salter has suggested that the Dukhang costumes were derived from Gilgit and Baltistan, where similar fashions may be observed in the Buddhist art of the two regions.[418] The surviving art from Gilgit consists of Buddhist rock-carvings, metal sculpture and manuscript covers, all of which can be dated between the 6th and the 8th centuries. The Buddhist art of Baltistan consists of a rock carving with Tibetan inscriptions at Satpara near Skardu, which could date from the Yarlung dynasty[419] (map 2). This rock relief portrays twenty seated Buddhas in earth touching pose surrounding a large central Buddha.[420] There are no secular costumes depicted in the relief.

Donor figures appearing on Buddhist metal sculpture and manuscript covers furnish examples of Gilgit secular outfits. In an early-8th century sculpture (fig. 3.173) the donors are depicted on the base.[421] At the feet of the Buddha, a king stands while his wife kneels behind him. Also on the base to the left of the Buddha we see a

[418] Klimburg-Salter: 1987: 695. She has used "...the term Bolor to include the pre-Islamic regions of Gilgit and Baltistan (Skardu)."
[419] Denwood: 2007.
[420] *Ibid.* 50. According to Denwood, the inscriptions on the rock relief resemble those of the Yarlung dynasty in Central Tibet.
[421] Amy Heller (2006) has discussed the art historical aspect of the image. She has commented in particular on the medallion design on the Buddha's throne.

kneeling high official or donor.[422] The prominent breastplate and the round collar with pearls on the king's costume are strongly reminiscent of Sasanian royal garb. The high official has a v-necked short garment with a turban on his head. Both men have in front of their hips a horizontally placed short dagger, which seems to be hanging from a narrow belt. It is possible that the incised lines on both men's upper sleeves indicate a design of armbands.

In another sculpture, dated to 714 AD, the standing king on the base to the right of the Buddha wears a wide lapelled long jacket, incised with circle motifs (fig. 3.174). The king's headgear resembles a flat turban, and the belt with a hanging dagger is identical to that in the previous example. The queen, who is standing to the right of the Buddha, wears a trouser suit, which has motifs enclosed within stripes. The donors in figure 3.175 are shown in lapelled costumes, where the lapels contrast with the main fabric of the outfit. The kneeling donor on the extreme right of the Buddha is also wearing turban type headgear (fig. 3.176). The costumes of the Gilgit donors are archaic in character and seem to have been influenced directly by Sasanian royal fashion.

The Gilgit manuscript covers were discovered in 1939 near Naupur on the Gilgit River. The three decorated pairs of covers were originally buried inside a stupa, and von Hinüber has dated them not later than 700 AD on palaeographic grounds.[423] In addition to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the covers depict donor figures. The male costume appears to consist of either a frontally closing garment (fig. 3.177) with a high collar or a round-necked long jacket (fig. 3.178, donor on the right). The collar

[422] Von Hinüber (2003: 37) has determined the identities of these donors through inscriptional evidence. The sculpture is dated to 715 AD.
[423] Klimburg-Salter: 1991: 522.

and the cuffs are of contrasting darker material.[424] The donor in figure 3.177 seemingly has a short dagger hanging from a belt. The round neck, the contrasting fabric on the front and the collar of the costume as well as the short dagger, are features also seen on the Hephthalite outfit in figure 3.19. In figures 3.178 and 3.179 the headgear depicted is either a turban, which is similar to the ones depicted on the Gilgit metal sculpture, or a tall hat (the donors on the left in figs. 3.178 and 3.179).

In figure 3.180 the male donor wears a long black garment, which has a belt with a long sword. His headgear seems to have a scarf tied around it, with short white ends. The female donor behind him wears a red long costume, and she has either a long scarf or a shawl around her. Her hair is tied on the nape of her neck and on her head she wears a kind of beret. The Gilgit garments and headgear are quite different from those seen in the Dukhang, as they are much more archaic in character and have substantial similarities to the 6^{th}-7^{th} century costumes in western Central Asia. It is thus very unlikely that the Dukhang costumes were influenced by Gilgit fashions.

9. The costume on Ladakhi rock reliefs

(i) Shey

Secular costume can also be found depicted on rock reliefs in Ladakh. Attempts have been made to photograph and publish these reliefs, although not systematically and they have not been studied in depth by scholars.[425] The rock

[424] Although Klimburg-Salter (*ibid.* 526) has described the male costume as tunics and pants, the latter is not clear from the paintings.

[425] A. H. Francke photographed some of the rock reliefs in Ladakh, which were published in the first volume of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. Snellgrove and Skorupski (1980) published several rock

carvings generally portray Buddhist deities, and also occasionally donors. Lay costume is apparent on a rock relief at Shey, which is about 50 kilometres to the east of Alchi (maps 1A and 3). The relief depicts the Five Buddhas with donors, and also exhibits a six-line Tibetan inscription (fig. 3.181).[426] A donor figure appears both on the left and the right hand side of the five standing Buddhas. According to Denwood, the figure on the left, on bended knee, is offering a vessel to Buddha Ratnasambhava and should be viewed as the main donor.[427] This donor wears a brimmed hat and a costume with wide long sleeves and triangular lapels. The donor on the opposite side also has a long sleeved costume but no other details can be ascertained. A further six donors can be discerned in the lower register of the carving.

The donors on the left hand side of the lower register are all wearing wide sleeved costumes with contrasting cuffs and triangular lapels. Their headdress seems to consist of a flat turban. The seated figures on the right hand side wear identical outfits. Denwood has noted that the costumes are belted at the waist, and the hairstyles show a projecting roll or wing of hair at the ears or neck.[428] The Shey costumes and hairstyles are thus practically identical to the Yarlung dynasty ones. Furthermore, they also bear a strong resemblance to the costumes represented in the Entry and Assembly Halls at Tabo, and at Tholing. This suggests that the donors in the Shey relief are Tibetan, and thus the relief could date from the 10th-11th

reliefs in the Ladakhi region. Philip Denwood's work (2007) on the subject is ongoing. I would like to acknowledge his help in discussing the Ladakhi rock reliefs with me. Neil Howard has photographed several rock reliefs in Ladakhi region during the 1980s and 1990s, and I would like to thank him for showing me these unpublished photographs.

[426] Denwood: 2007: 51. The inscription is too worn to depicher. There are traces of another inscription below the donor figure to the observer's left, and marks on the rock at top left and lower right suggest further inscriptions (*ibid.*).

[427] *Ibid.* Denwood has noted the analogy with other types of sculpture, including Gilgit bronzes of the 8th century as regarding the position of the main donor.

[428] *Ibid.*

centuries. As noted by Denwood, the later 15th century costumes depicted in the murals of the Red Temple at Tholing are quite different from the Tibetan outfits in Dunhuang and Tabo.[429] Furthermore, if the male costume in the Dukhang at Alchi was worn in the Ladakhi region during the 11th century, then the Shey rock relief may well pre-date the Dukhang mural.

(ii) Sanku

A rock relief near Sanku on the Suru River in Purig to the west of Alchi also shows detail on a donor costume (maps 1 and 3; fig. 3.182). Snellgrove has argued that the figure of Padmapani Avalokiteshvara on the Sanku relief was carved prior to the Tibetan occupation of western Tibet, thereby presumably implying a date before late 7th-early 8th century.[430] The far left donor is a standing female, who wears a long layered dress and seemingly has a long narrow scarf wrapped around her. Her hair is depicted in a similar manner to that of the female donor on a Gilgit manuscript cover (fig. 3. 180). The man standing in front of her wears a long caftan-type garment with a belt tied around the waist. He also seems to have a long narrow scarf wrapped around his right arm and a sword or a dagger hanging from the belt. The two donors on the right are also wearing long caftans with narrow scarves around their right arms. There is no clear indication whether the outfits have round or v-necks. The donors wear flat caps.

The donors' costumes and the way they hold long scarves on their arms have similarities to the depiction of the Gilgit donors, thus suggesting a *c.* 6th-7th century date for the Sanku relief. However, the relief has also clear 10th-12th century Pala

[429] *Ibid.*
[430] Snellgrove and Skorupski: 1980: 4.

period characteristics, which are the architectural, trefoil frame inside which the main deity is depicted in *lalitāsana* and his narrow, well-defined waist.[431] In addition, the position of the subsidiary goddess to the right of the main deity, with her right leg bent and the slight movement visible on her body is reminiscent of the figural depiction in Pala period Buddhist manuscripts.

(iii) Conclusions

The evidence from the rock reliefs in Ladakh points to two types of costumes. The Shey rock relief clearly depicts a Tibetan, Yarlung dynasty-type garment, while the relief near Sanku attests to a non-Tibetan outfit. The date for the Shey relief could be late Yarlung dynasty as the donors' costume is comparable to that seen in Dunhuang (figs. 3. 56, 3. 67, 3. 98). It also shows substantial similarities to the previously discussed Tibetan men's costume at Tabo (figs. 3. 69, 3.70, 3. 71, 3.101). The main deity in the Sanku relief has strong Pala characteristics and thus appears to be later than the Shey carving. The donor costumes at Sanku are also very different from the ones at Shey, and they have some parallels to the one in the Dukhang, such as the belted caftan and the dagger or sword hanging from the belt. However, the Sanku costumes have close similarity to the ones at Gilgit (fig.3. 180), and this could imply that the Sanku garb was derived from regions to the west of Ladakh. The archaic fashion at Sanku suggests it pre-dates the Dukhang outfit. The depiction of costumes at Sanku seemingly attests to a foreign presence in the Ladakhi region after the collapse of the Yarlung dynasty.

[431] See chapter II in this thesis.

"The King, the Cup and the Hunt"

In order to summarise the art historical currents discussed in this chapter I shall conclude by examining a previously unpublished mural from the Dukhang which I shall refer to as "The King, the Cup and the Hunt".[432] The mural, which is clearly divided into three different registers, is situated on the eastern wall of the Dukhang (fig. 3.183). It occupies the lower part of the temple wall, and has a more prominent position than "The Royal Drinking Scene." The uppermost register depicts a centrally seated man, flanked, to his right, by a seated man offering a cup and, to his left, by both a seated and a standing man (fig. 3. 184). The middle register portrays a group of nine men, two of whom are kneeling and offering a cup to the centrally seated man. The rest of the men are standing and many are shown holding weapons and shields. The lower register depicts men on horseback holding bows.

The centrally seated male in the uppermost register is depicted in the full frontal position, or *bagdas* (fig. 3.185). He wears a costume, which is practically identical to that worn by the central figure in "The Royal Drinking Scene" with the exception of the left hand sleeve, which is exceedingly long, covering his entire hand. It is likely that the sleeves of the outfit worn by the central man in figure 3.2 would also extend well below the hands if the sleeves were depicted undone at the cuffs. While the robe adorning this central figure (fig. 3. 185) is not as luxuriously patterned as the one in figure 3.2, it does manifest simple motifs and armbands, which can be discerned against the fabric's white background. The hairstyle and headdress of this central man are identical to those depicted in figure 3.2, and he also holds an axe in his right hand. The two men seated on either side of the central figure are depicted

[432] I am very grateful to Mr Lionel Fournier, France for drawing this image into my attention. I would also like to thank the WHAV, Austria, for allowing me to use the image here.

in a three-quarter view, their position thus being identical to that of the central man in "The Royal Drinking Scene." The man on the right is offering a small cup to the central figure. The attending men hold shields and weapons in their hands.

In the middle register, the focus of the scene seems to be on the two kneeling men, who each offer a cup to the frontally depicted central figure (fig. 3.186). Both cupbearers have long scarves wrapped around them, which could have a ceremonial function (as in fig. 3.42) since none of the other participants in the scene wears them.[433] Additionally there is a covered three-legged table between the two cupbearers and several drinking vessels are shown on the ground. Men carrying weapons flank the cupbearers and the drinking equipment. They wear v-necked caftans, belted at the waist, and their headdress consists either of a long piece of material tied around their heads (as in "The Royal Drinking Scene") or a wide brimmed flat hat. Neither the upper nor the middle register scenes contain women. The hunting scene in the lower register completes the mural.

On the basis of the analysis concerning the iconographical currents in "The Royal Drinking Scene," the scene in figure 3.184 would also appear to show a drinking scene, but with certain iconographical differences when compared to figure 3.2. The full frontal, *bagdas,* position of the centrally seated man in the uppermost register in figure 3.184 strongly suggests that *he is the king.* His rank is further emphasised by the halo around his head and by the parasol placed directly above him. The gesture of offering the cup to the king by the man on the right also implies a pre-defined royal protocol. The two men seated next to the king wear costumes

[433] The scarf is also similar to the ones seen on the donors in the Gilgit metal sculpture and on the Sanku relief.

embroidered with armbands, implying the men have a high-ranking position at court, which could also be a military function. The man standing on the far right has his hand close to his chest, an obvious gesture of loyalty.

The participating figures have been arranged in the two upper registers in a way that suggests a strong element of symmetry. The king's position between the two men gives the entire mural a powerful and balanced execution. The symmetry continues in the middle register, which depicts the actual drinking scene. The two kneeling cupbearers are separated by what resembles a covered table, which is placed directly underneath the king. Each cupbearer has an armed man positioned next to him. The king and the men all wear non-Tibetan costumes and headdresses and therefore it is likely that the mural portrays a foreign king with his military attendants, who dominate the entire scene.

1. Princely themes

"The King, the Cup and the Hunt" exhibits three distinctly different themes. The first theme concerns the centrally placed king, who is portrayed frontally. Two near equals flank him on either side, and one makes the gesture of offering the cup to the king. The second part of the mural focuses on the preparation of the drinks by the cupbearers, accompanied by their armed attendants. The third and final theme concerns the archers on horseback. At Mangyu, a hunting scene that accompanies the cup offering (fig. 3. 3) is directly comparable to the scene in the Dukhang at Alchi (fig. 3. 184). Extant art historical evidence suggests that these themes are not depicted anywhere else in Tibetan painting, together or on their own. They only appear at Alchi and Mangyu during the 11th century, and therefore the themes may

be deemed foreign cultural components, a fact further emphasised by the complete lack of male participants clad in Tibetan costume or portrayed with Tibetan hairstyles.

According to Eleanor Sims, the recurring imagery in Iranian painting is that of "a prince receiving homage at a feast or him hunting on horseback, or he is shown surrounded by courtiers and the perquisities of his rank."[434] The themes can be represented in conjunction with each other or they can appear on their own, as a single subject matter. The scenes in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" correspond to this princely imagery, with all three themes depicted in the same mural (fig. 3.184). According to Sims, the origin of the princely themes is pre-Islamic Iran; they are practically the only subject matter represented in Sasanian art and the themes continued to be depicted in Islamic courtly arts.[435] Most of the surviving Sasanian material is in the form of metal dishes commonly portraying a single theme, for example a royal archer on horseback hunting.[436] In Islamic art, the imagery is perhaps most frequently found on ceramics, many of which date from the Seljuq era.[437] A Seljuq bowl (fig. 3.96) depicts a single audience scene, while a prince on horseback is portrayed in figures 3.94 and 3.95 (12^{th}-13^{th} century, Iran). The single motif of an archer either riding a horse or an elephant is depicted several times on the ceiling of the Sumtsek at Alchi (figs. 3.159, 3.187).[438] The 12^{th}-13^{th} century Seljuq mural (fig. 3.134) discussed earlier has two of the three princely

[434] Sims: 2002: 40.
[435] *Ibid.*
[436] See for example Harper: 1981: plates 10, 14 and 15. The royal hunter is also depicted standing or on horseback, slaying an animal with a spear, often a deer or a lion (refer to figures 3. 10, 3. 11 and 3. 150 in this chapter).
[437] Flood (2005: 91) suggests that images of drinking and hunting that appear as a single subject on separate silver plates and lusterware bowls could originally have formed a pair.
[438] The motif of the mounted huntsman on the Sumtsek ceiling is discussed by Flood (1991).

themes. The top row portrays men in "reception-mode"[439] and below we see two hunters on horseback. The composition has a strong similarity to the layout of the Dukhang royal scene in figure 3.184, where the focus also is on a group of men and the hunting scene is placed in the lower register.

(i) Persian miniature illustrations

Princely themes are also depicted in Persian miniature illustrations, most of which have survived from *c.*1200 onwards. Sims has suggested that, "images of an enthroned prince and the hunt are usually found together in the frontispieces of medieval Islamic manuscripts of any pretension, no matter what the content of the volume might be."[440] This implies the importance attached to such princely imagery, either by the patron or the artist, or both. In the following, two Persian miniature illustrations will be discussed to determine whether they have any compositional or stylistic similarities to the Dukhang murals, despite the miniatures being later and appearing in a different medium and cultural context.

The frontispiece of an early 13th century manuscript *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (The Book of Songs) depicts a well-known image of a prince flanked by courtiers (fig. 3.188).[441] He is seated frontally on a throne, holding a bow and an arrow, which according to Ettinghausen symbolises a non-Arab, Turkish ruler.[442] The ethnic origin of the courtiers is also Turkic, denoted by their long black tresses.[443] The ruler and some of the courtiers have the embroidered pattern of an armband on the upper sleeve of

[439] Term used by Sims (2002: 122).
[440] Sims: *ibid.*
[441] The manuscript is thought be from Mosul, Iraq. Sims (*ibid.* 40) has called this illustration a "classical Seljuq Iranian princely image."
[442] Ettinghausen: 1977: 64. Ettinghausen notes that the usual symbol of an Arab ruler is the sword (*ibid.*).
[443] Sims: 2002: 40.

their costume. All the participants sport a halo or nimbus around their heads. The composition follows the tradition of portraying royal figures frontally and larger than the accompanying persons.

A mid-13th century frontispiece of *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (The Book of Antidotes)[444] represents a seated prince holding a long-stemmed drinking vessel, and flanked by courtiers with long tresses, some of whom are carrying swords (fig. 3. 189). He is portrayed sideways rather than frontally and in front of him there is a low table and behind it, several drinking vessels are placed on similar tables.[445] The kneeling man in front of him confirms his royal status. The entire middle zone is portrayed inside an architectural frame, which could denote a palace. The uppermost register depicts a hunting scene, with men, including an archer and two falconers, on horseback.[446] All the men are clad in decorated robes, which also have the pattern of an armband on the upper sleeve. This frontispiece, therefore, portrays the themes of a prince flanked by courtiers, the royal feast and the royal hunt. Notably the prince holds a cup in his hand, which further emphasises his royal status.

Despite the different temporal and cultural context of the above miniatures and the Dukhang murals, there are nevertheless a few *underlying* elements in the Persian illustrations that are similar to the Dukhang scenes. The most obvious parallels between the miniatures and the Dukhang murals are the themes of a prince seated in court, flanked by courtiers and drinking vessels, and the hunting archers on

[444] The manuscript is dated to the end of the 12th century or to the first quarter of the 13th century (Melikian Chirvani 1967: 21). It is also thought to be from Mosul, Iraq.
[445] Ettinghausen (1977: 92) has noted that the three-quarter position is also known from the scheme for audience on inlaid metalwork. The scene has also non-formal activities such as the preparation of meat and workmen behind the wall above the prince.
[446] The lower scene has men on horses and veiled women on camels, the latter reflecting purely Islamic cultural traits.

horseback. At Alchi, these themes are depicted most fully and unambiguously in the kingly scene (fig. 3.184), which has been divided into three registers, each of them containing one of the above princely topics. A similar compositional division has also been used in figure 3.189. According to Sims, the use of registers is a frequent feature in Persian painting, as a way of organising different themes coherently.[447]

The static, frontal position of the king in the middle of the Dukhang mural emphasises his power over the attendant figures, which is echoed in the depiction, although much larger in size, of the Turkish prince from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (fig. 3.188). The royal person in figure 3.189 is portrayed in a three-quarter view, as is the central man in "The Royal Drinking Scene." The kneeling attendant in the Persian frontispiece (fig. 3.189) is also reminiscent of the one placed in the centre in figure 3.2.[448]

The men's long plaits both in the Dukhang murals and the Persian illustrations imply Turkic hairstyle. Both the Islamic and "The Royal Drinking Scene" costumes have elaborate motifs, while those on the garments in the Dukhang kingly scene are plain and small (fig. 3.184). Although the style and shape of the Dukhang outfits differ from the Islamic costumes, the embroidered patterns in the form of armbands on the upper sleeves in the Dukhang attest to the Turkic origin of the costumes.

[447] Sims: 2002: 40.
[448] Flood: (2005: 89) has noted general similarities between figure 3.189 (vessels in the background, the focus on the man depicted in a three-quarter view, the hunters on horseback) and the Dukhang drinking scene and the motif of the hunter on the ceiling of the Sumtsek at Alchi.

(ii) Buddhist and Manichaean art

Perhaps the most visible differences in the Dukhang scenes and Persian illustrations are in the depictions of facial features, which in the latter are portrayed according to the "moon face" principle.[449] A. S. Melikian-Chirvani was the first scholar to note that the Buddhist arts from eastern Iran and Xinjiang influenced the idealised representation of human types in medieval Persian painting.[450] The Buddhist facial type, which had round face, half closed almond-shaped eyes, small mouth and arc-shaped eyebrows high above the eyes, came to be considered the ideal portrait type for all humans, including princes in Persian painting.[451] This ideal visage was known as moon-faced beauty, or *māhrūy,*[452] and it represented both men and women with dark and long hair, although the men's hair was often shown in plaits.[453] The 7thcentury mural from Tumshuq (map 4) on the Northern Silk Road in figure 3.190 depicts the preaching Buddha with the moon-face, which has the characteristics of a small mouth, half-closed eyes with the upper lid drawn long and strongly shaped eyebrows set high above the eyes.

In addition to Buddhist arts from eastern Iran and Xinjiang, Sims has referred to Manichaean art as also among those "Central Asian-Turkic components" that influenced Persian painting.[454] Both Buddhist and Manichaean artistic traditions

---

[449] Sims: 2002: 40. It seems though that the bearded face of the central figure in figure 3.188 does not follow the moon face principle. The attendants, on the other hand, are all clean-shaven (see pages 162-63 in this chapter for Pancaroğlu's definitions of the moon face).
[450] Melikian-Chirvani (1971). Eastern Iran here refers to Afghanistan, Khorasan and the former Soviet states of Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan, where Buddhist art in the form of sculpture has been excavated.
[451] *Ibid.* 58; Sims: 2002: 23.
[452] Melikian-Chirvani: *ibid.* 60. According to Melikian-Chirvani, this is the only facial type, be it a man or a woman that was known to the Persian poet
[453] Sims: 2002: 23. As has been noted previously (under " Seljuq hairstyles", the Seljuqs adopted this type of portrayal, which became an important part of the Seljuq style.
[454] *Ibid* and *passim.*

featured strongly in the Turkic cultural zones of the Northern Silk Road.[455] The Manichaean paintings have survived in fragmentary manuscripts, and Sims has noted that their size, figural style and composition also influenced human representation in all the medieval Islamic arts (fig. 3.191).[456] There seems, however, to be more art historical evidence for the Central Asian Buddhist artistic tradition, as represented by the Buddhist murals on the Northern Silk Road in Xinjiang. The Buddhist paintings influenced not only the depiction of facial features in the Persian arts, but also the patterned costumes, which can be deemed to be Turkic (figs. 3.84, 3.126, 3.127, 3.131).[457] Melikian-Chirvani points out that human imagery in Persian art is not realistic, but idealised and was based on the moon face principle.[458] However, my earlier discussion on men's hairstyle and costume has demonstrated realistic aspects to the art and thus it is likely that the long plaits and the patterned outfits in the Persian painting can also perhaps be considered to have an element of realism. Furthermore, the plaits and the costumes depicted in these Persian miniatures (figs. 3.188, 3.189) are clearly associated with Turkic cultural traditions.

Significantly, the Central Asian-Turkic tradition portrayed figures "either frenetically active or seated cross-legged in conversation with peers, consorts, or disciples, or in contemplation...".[459] As we have seen, the images of a ruler holding a cup show him sitting cross-legged, often flanked by a disciple on either side. Such

[455] *Ibid.* Before converting to Buddhism in the 11th century, the Uygurs were Manichaean (see "Early history of theTurks" in this chapter).
[456] *Ibid.* 22. Sims dated the extant Manichaean material to the 8th-9th century. However, the latest dating for the majority of Uygur Manichaean art in the Berlin collection is now early-10th to mid-11th century, based on radiocarbon dating and stylistic analysis (Gulacsi: 2001: 10).
[457] Sims: 2002: 23. Although Sims (*ibid.* 22) has emphasised the Manichaean influence in the detailed portrayal of costumes and furnishings in Persian art, it must be said that generally Manichaean dress is white.
[458] Melikian-Chirvani: 1971: 63.
[459] Sims: 2002: 23.

positions are also typical in Buddhist art, where the iconographically predetermined postures of the Buddha show him seated, standing or lying down (*mahāparinirvāṇa*). The image of the Buddha or Bodhisattva flanked by a group of disciples is fundamental in Buddhist artistic representation, and therefore appears universally in all Buddhist arts.[460] In addition to the Turko-Islamic objects discussed previously, where the number of men flanking the central figure ranges from two to several (for example, figs. 3. 27, 3. 28, 3. 30, 3. 96), the Persian manuscripts in figures 3. 188 and 3. 189 demonstrate that the grouping of people around the main figure was applied in a non-Buddhist artistic context. Thus it seems that the compositional device of emphasising the central figure in Persian miniature painting was strongly influenced by the Buddhist arts of Xinjiang.

My earlier analysis of "The Royal Drinking Scene" has shown that its iconography lacks certain of the motifs that formed an important part of Sasanian inspired representation. In "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" (fig. 3.184), the central figure, despite his royal status, does not hold a cup but rather is being offered one. The image of the ruler holding the cup refers to iconography frequently found in Turko-Islamic art, and the absence of this image in the Dukhang demonstrates its symbolic insignificance amongst the patrons at Alchi. Instead it is more likely that the mural shows the penultimate stage of the enthronement ritual as attested to in the written sources of the Mongols but which originated from the traditions of pre-Islamic Inner Asia.

[460] For example, the image can be found frequently in Tibetan mural painting (see figs. 3. 61and 3. 71 in this chapter; fig. 2. 22 in chapter II) and in the Buddhist cave sites in Xinjiang. The Buddhist murals of Bezeklik on the Northern Silk Road portray these "group" or audience scenes (Leidy: 2001: figs. 19-22, 30).

Therefore it seems clear that the Dukhang scene was influenced by established Inner Asian Turkic traditions, where the cup rite and the hunt were important events, often performed together.[461] The Turkic elements are further emphasised by the hairstyle of long plaits and the costume with embroidered patterns of armbands, which are an intrinsic part of both the two Dukhang murals and the Persian illustrations. While the identity of the rulers at Alchi is not known, the Persian manuscripts were executed under a Turko-Islamic rule, and therefore the similarities of certain features in the Dukhang portrayal with the Persian illustrations attest to a Turkic patronage at Alchi. However, as I shall attempt to prove below, the clear differences in the facial features refer to distinctly independent artistic traditions pertaining in the Dukhang murals and the Persian illustrations.

2. Comparison to the Tabo murals

The non-Tibetan elements, or princely themes in the Dukhang are further emphasised by comparing them to the late 10th and 11th century murals in the Entry Hall and the Assembly Hall at Tabo discussed previously. The pictorial representation in the Assembly Hall follows the traditional Buddhist scheme, consisting as it does of Buddhist narratives painted according to Buddhist texts, and of donors, shown either seated or standing.[462] Artistic representation in Tibetan temples adheres to this mode, which may be considered a rule rather than an exception. The subject matter of the murals at Tabo is purely Buddhist, and secular aspects can only be glimpsed through the portrayal of hairstyle, costume and

[461] Otto-Dorn: 1961-62: p. 20ff; Emel Esin (1968:18, 20 and *passim*; 1969: 224, 226 and *passim*) has traced the theme of hunt and banquet to the ancient Inner Asian nomad tradition.
[462] Historical records regarding the beginning of the Second Diffusion in Guge and the foundation of Tabo also confirm this visual narrative, as they refer to the Tibetan lama kings and events concerning their Buddhist activities (Vitali: 1996, 1999).

headdress, which establish a Tibetan character for the majority of the figures. Donors are also portrayed with Tibetan hairstyle and costumes in the Entry Hall at Tabo. The secular costumes are either plain or have minimum decoration, which attests to a different artistic and cultural tradition from the one pertaining at Alchi.

In contrast to Tabo, the visual narrative in the Dukhang at Alchi allocates a greater role to lay characters and their actions. The underlying theme in the two Dukhang murals is the offering of a cup, which echoes courtly traditions not found represented in the arts of the Tibetan cultural sphere. The foreign character is especially pronounced in the depiction of princely themes in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" (fig. 3.184). The lay people at Alchi are not portrayed in a traditional donor mode (seated or standing near the Buddha image) but rather, they are engaged in non-religious activity, which centres on the secular ruler, who is symmetrically placed in the middle of the composition.

At Tabo many narrative scenes are depicted within an architectural context. Thus, for example, in figure 3.44 depicting "The Pilgrimage of Sudhana", the men and women are placed inside a Tibetan building, although the narrative is based on an Indian text. The portrayal of people at Tabo is generally static, seldom showing any movement (figs. 3.46, 3.71, 3.101). On those occasions when a person is shown neither seated nor standing, he or she is normally a foreigner. In figure 3.140, for example, the dancing woman in the left of the mural wears an Indian costume. The men riding horses or elephants in "The Life of the Buddha" (figs. 3.100, 3.103) can also be deemed non-Tibetan. Groupings of men and women at Tabo occur around Buddhist personages who are participating in a *jātaka* or form part of the Buddha

Sakyamuni's life. Thus, at Tabo we see that the visual narrative is portrayed according to its context, which is the temple.

3. The protruding outer eye

Despite these differences in secular portrayal at Alchi and Tabo, both sites share the artistic technique of the protruding outer eye in their figural depictions. In the Dukhang at Alchi, the protruding outer eye is very pronounced and can be considered a defining feature of the artistic representation. In contrast, in the Islamic ideal of the moon-faced beauty, the eyes narrow towards the outer corner but *they do not protrude* (fig. 3.93).[463] The protruding outer eye depicted in a three-quarter profile was derived from the Indian artistic tradition, where its earliest occurrence can be detected on some of the figures in the Ajanta murals, although it was not as pronounced as it later became in Jain manuscript illustrations.[464] The 11th and 12th century Pala Buddhist manuscripts also show the protruding outer eye, and its appearance and development can be outlined through the following illustrations.

In a manuscript from Nalanda, Bihar (*c.*1073) two types of portrayal can be differentiated. In the first type the eye does not actually protrude, but the pupil of the outer eye on Queen Maya is depicted in an exaggerated manner (fig. 3.192). In the second type, which is seen on the two green deities flanking the Buddha, the eye seems to be stretching further out and is seemingly supported from underneath (fig. 3.193). Similar to the first type above, in figure 3.194 from Bihar (*c.*1075-

[463] The protruding eye also does not appear frequently in Central Asian Buddhist art. A slightly protruding outer eye is discernable on an 11th-12th century female deity in Sengim, Xinjiang on the Northern Silk Road (Roxburgh: 2005: fig. 11, p. 56).
[464] Losty: 1982: 29. Losty has also referred to the "further projecting eye" at the Ellora caves in India. For Ajanta examples, see Behl (1998) pages 78, 86 and 143.

1100), the eye protrudes very little, but the pupil itself is exaggerated. In a slightly later (*c.*1100-1125) manuscript from Kurkihar, Bihar (fig. 3.195), the outer eye is drawn as in figure 3.193. In figure 3.196 from Bihar, dated to *c.*1150, the protruding outer eye has become sketchy, perhaps suggesting that the artists were accustomed to depicting the feature by then. We may thus observe that Pala manuscript artists seemingly portrayed the protruding outer eye in three different ways. Over time, the feature became more exaggerated so that by the mid-12th century the eye is literally popping out of its socket. The protruding outer eye was depicted frequently in this manner in Jain manuscript illuminations (figs. 3.145, 3.146), where the earliest illustration with this optic feature dates to 1122-54,[465] and its use continued until the 15th century.[466] Thus it seems that both the Buddhist and Jain manuscript painting traditions portrayed the eye in a similar exaggerated manner by the mid-12th century.

While comparisons have been made between the protruding outer eye in the Jain illustrations and the Dukhang at Alchi,[467] the feature appears in a practically identical manner on the faces of the monks at Tabo in the Entry Hall mural (fig. 3.197), and on some of the figures in the Assembly Hall (figs. 3.101, 3.102). The protruding outer eye also forms part of the figural portrayal in the western Tibetan murals of Tholing (figs. 3.48, 3.73, 3.75, 3.76, 3.137, 3.138, 3.139) and Mangnang (fig. 3.198), and at Yemar (fig. 3.74) and Grongkar (fig. 3.119) in Central Tibet. At Drathang (figs. 3.61, 3.62, 3.63) the eyes of the Bodhisattvas are elongated and narrow, with drooping upper lids, and the eyes protrude slightly. In contrast, the

[465] Ghosh: 1975: 395.
[466] Losty: 1982: 29 has noted the further projecting eye in palm-leaf illustrations "becomes part of the angularity and distortion."
[467] Pal: 1982: 54; Pal: 1994: 95.

eyes of the monks do not protrude at all (fig. 3.61). A 12th century manuscript cover (fig. 3.199) and a 13th century thangka of a Tibetan hierarch, also from Central Tibet, depict the outer eye in a very similar manner to those of the Boddhisattvas at Drathang (fig. 3.41).[468] An identical type can be found in the 11th century manuscript from Tholing (fig. 3.200), but in contrast, the outer eye of the donor in the same manuscript protrudes in an exaggerated way (fig. 3.73).

Available evidence suggests that the projecting outer eye was first applied in Tibetan arts in the late 10th century Entry Hall murals at Tabo. From then on it became a prominent feature of Western Himalayan artistic representation, which frequently shows the protruding outer eye in an exaggerated manner. In contrast, in Central Tibetan material the protrusion of the outer eye is not so pronounced, and this type can also occasionally be found in western Tibet (fig. 3.200). The earliest extant Pala manuscripts, which exhibit a protruding outer eye that is practically identical to the Drathang depiction, date from the late 11th century. Heller has noted that the aesthetic model at Drathang followed eastern Indian tradition of the 11th century, which also depicted arched eyebrows, elongated ear lobes and the distinctive "Pala" dip in the line of the upper eyelid.[469] It thus seems likely that the eastern Indian painting tradition also influenced the depiction of the protruding outer eye at Drathang. The technique itself seemingly developed over the centuries in Indian painting, the beginnings of which can be seen at Ajanta.

[468] Jane Casey Singer (1986: 21) has noted 12th century eastern Indian influence in the thangka's architectural motifs and landscape.
[469] Heller: 2002b: 46. She cites a manuscript from Nalanda, dated to 1073 as an example showing the above eastern Indian features.

The 7th century manuscript covers found in Gilgit also depict Buddhist deities with the protruding outer eye (fig. 3. 177).[470] In addition, a very rare 10th century Buddhist wooden manuscript cover from Kashmir manifests this feature on some of the deities (fig. 3.201), and therefore it is possible that its appearance in western Tibetan art could have been influenced by the Kashmiri painting tradition. However, more evidence of 10th century Kashmiri painting is needed before any firm conclusions can be reached. The eastern Indian Pala influence (figs. 2.24, 2.25) has already been noted on the horse painted on the dhoti of the Avalokiteshvara in the Alchi Sumtsek (fig. 2.23). The earliest extant Pala manuscripts depicting the protruding outer eye date to the late 11th century, and are thus approximately contemporary with the Sumtsek. As the technique ultimately derived from Indian painting, it seems likely that Indian models influenced such portrayals at Alchi and western Tibet.

While the protruding outer eye is found both at Alchi and Tabo, the themes in the murals differ significantly. In the Dukhang at Alchi, the secular has been given prominence, and the choice of princely themes, namely, the king receiving homage, the cup rite and the hunt, implies the patrons' desire to be portrayed in a Buddhist temple but in this courtly manner. In contrast, the murals at Tabo have no trace of courtly grandeur and they express the Buddhist themes in a humble, even austere style, where the secular figures have been allocated a secondary position. Therefore, the portrayal at Alchi may be considered unique in Tibetan Buddhist art and is likely to reflect the 11th century politico-historical situation in the region.

[470] Pal (2007: 103) has noted that the style of the covers does not relate to the metal sculptures of the Patola Shahi rulers of Gilgit.

Conclusions

The art historical survey undertaken in this chapter has implied that the iconography of "The Royal Drinking Scene" and "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" was influenced by foreign cultural traditions, which were executed under the Buddhist rulers of the region. The costumes, headdress and hairstyle on the majority of the men in the Dukhang portrayal strongly attest to a foreign element amongst the Ladakhi population, which is also evident in the mural at Mangyu. Therefore it seems that the 11th century rulers of this part of Ladakh, while Buddhist, were not ethnic Tibetans.

Scholars have proposed Iranian cultural influences in "The Royal Drinking Scene," and have discussed the mural in the context of Islamic arts. However, these Iranian cultural elements had derived important aspects of their iconography from the Sasanian world, aspects which do not apply directly or fully to "The Royal Drinking Scene." This is supported by the clear omissions of certain Iranian iconographic elements from the Dukhang scene, such as the branch accompanying the cup, and the image of the centrally seated king holding the cup. The latter, as we have seen, denoted an enthronement and thereby royal power and was used symbolically across a wide geographical area before and during Turko-Islamic rule. Significantly, this image is completely *absent* in the Dukhang representation.

The textual and art historical evidence suggests that the iconographical elements visible in "The Royal Drinking Scene" and "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" were influenced by pre-Islamic Turkic antecedents from the steppe zone of Inner Asia rather than by contemporary 11th century Islamic art from urban centres. The

secular female cup offering is attested to in Turkic literary records, and "The Royal Drinking Scene" represents a rare portrayal of this act. The iconography in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" refers to the penultimate stage of an enthronement ritual, which is frequently referred to in the 13th century written records of the Mongols, but the origins of which are much earlier. The emphasis in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" is on the non-Tibetan soldiers performing the act of offering the cup to the king, while "The Royal Drinking Scene" focuses on the Tibetan woman making an offering to a foreigner of royal rank. Thus, in both murals the power is centred on a non-Tibetan man portrayed in the middle of the composition. Therefore, these secular murals in the Dukhang can be understood to represent manifestations of political power within a Buddhist context, and accompanied by scenes of hunting and military grandeur drawn from a non-Tibetan courtly tradition.

While the two Dukhang murals and the Persian manuscript illustrations share compositional aspects, such as the grouping of men around a central figure, the plaited hairstyle and the elaborate costumes, there are significant differences in the portrayal of facial features. The artists in the Dukhang were depicting faces according to Indian artistic traditions, influenced more specifically by Pala portrayal. This suggests that the artists were Indian or trained in Indian artistic techniques. While the themes of the king receiving homage and the hunt are depicted both in Persian painting and in the Dukhang, the portrayal in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" emphasises the cup offering, which appears twice in the scene. This image is not found in the Persian illustrations. Thus, the Dukhang portrayal seemingly follows Inner Asian Turkic traditions, which in textual sources placed an importance on the cup offering and the hunt. The Turko-Islamic depiction

considered the image of the king holding the cup iconographically more important, and therefore followed a different tradition from the purely Turkic, pre-Islamic Inner Asian one.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The art historical analysis in the previous chapter indicates that the foreign men depicted in the two Dukhang murals, which relate to the foundation of the temple, were the rulers of at least parts of Ladakh in the 11th century. The iconographical aspects of these murals reflect a strong Turkic influence, and therefore it seems likely the rulers portrayed at Alchi were of Turkic origin. In the ensuing discussion, the available historical evidence pertaining to the region will be assessed in an attempt to place the *art historical* conclusions into their historical context. The analysis will refer to both Tibetan and Arabic historical sources, and I shall discuss the possibility of a Turkic invasion of western Tibet and Ladakh from Khotan or today's Northern Areas.

Ladakh

The *La dvags rgyal rabs* (Chronicles of Ladakh) is the only source on the history of Ladakh before the 15th century, and moreover, it is considered by modern scholars to be utterly unreliable.[1] The Chronicle was edited and translated by A. H. Francke in 1926,[2] and according to Luciano Petech, it was probably compiled in the 17th century and also contains more recent additions.[3] Thus it can only be limited use in attempting to discuss the 10th -12th century history of Ladakh.

Petech has suggested the following history for the origin of the Ladakhi kingdom. According to him, the kingdom's foundation is connected with the decline and fall

[1] Petech: 1997a: 238; Vitali: 1996: 292.
[2] Francke: 1992b (reprint of the 1926 original): *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II.
[3] Petech: 1977: 1. Comparing the Chronicle's post-15th century information to that in other Tibetan texts, Petech notes it is marred by omissions and mistakes (*ibid.* 3).

of the Tibetan monarchy (842 AD).[4] After the demise of the Yarlung dynasty, Central Tibet became fragmented and very little information is available regarding events there for about 150 years. In the early 10th century, a new state was founded in western Tibet by *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon*, one of the sons of *dPal 'khor btsan* (reigned until *c.*923 in Central Tibet).[5] *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon* (who may have reigned *c.* 923-950) began his rule in the territory of Zhangzhung, where he had the support of the ancient Tibetan noble families, those of *Cog ro*, *Pa tshab* and the *'Bro* clan.[6] The aristocratic *'Bro* clan is mentioned in the Dukhang inscriptions translated by Denwood.[7] *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon* eventually built a state called sTod mNga'ris (Western Dominion) in the Western Countries, whereby the Western Dominion included Purang, Guge and parts of Ladakh (Maryul).[8] At some later date, *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon* annexed the rest of Maryul, and after his death, one of his three sons, *dPal gyi mgon* took over the region.[9]

Maryul belonged to a confederation, whose nucleus was Purang and whose dependency was Guge, a situation that lasted until the end of the 11th century.[10] The Chronicle credits *dPal gyi mgon* as the founder of the Ladakhi kingdom,[11] and it is possible this event took place *c.*950.[12] It must be emphasised though that for the period from *c.*850 until 950, no certain historical information about Ladakh is available and the post-950 events are based on equally fragmented written sources. Thus, as the list of Ladakhi rulers is considered to be unreliable, the historical

[4] *Ibid.* 14.
[5] *Ibid.* 16. Petech: 1997a: 231-32.
[6] *Ibid.* 231.
[7] See chapter II in this thesis.
[8] Petech: 1997a: 231. Guge was originally part of Zhangzhung, but the old name Zhangzhung receded in favour of Guge (*ibid.* 232).
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Petech: 1977: 17.
[12] If the date of death of king *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon* is accepted to be *c.* 950.

evidence merely attests to the founding of a kingdom in Ladakh and to not much else about the region's 10th-12th century history.

Western Tibet (Guge and Purang)

The historical sources have more accurate information about western Tibet (Ngari; Guge and Purang; map 13) because of the reintroduction of Buddhism there, which began in the late 10th century. The establishment of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism (*c.*late 10th-late 13th century) is credited to the grandson of *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon*, known as Yeshe Ö.[13] Briefly, the Second Diffusion started on a small scale, with the founding of temples and monasteries and with the translation of Buddhist texts. The most famous translator, lotsawa Rinchen Zangpo is said to have founded as many as 108 temples. Be that as it may, he is known to have been instrumental in founding the temple and monastery of Tholing in Guge (with the help of Yeshe Ö), the Main Temple at Khachar (Khojarnath) in Purang (map 13) and the monastery of Nyarma in Maryul (map 1A).[14] Thus Rinchen Zangpo's activities also extended into Ladakh, which imply the region was Buddhist and is likely to have had cultural connections with Guge.

Regarding the early medieval history of western Tibet, a 15th century text *mNga' ris rgyal rabs,* or *The Kingdoms of Gu ge Pu hrang,* includes historical events from the time of the Yarlung dynasty to the 15th century. The Second Diffusion of Buddhism in western Tibet forms an important part of the chronicle, which has been translated

[13] Petech 1997a: 233. Yeshe Ö (*'Khor re*) was the first son of *bKra shis mgon* (reigned *c.* 950-975), who was given Purang upon the death of his father *sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon.* Yeshe Ö was *'Khor re*'s religious name after he was ordained as a monk.
[14] Petech: 1997a: 234.

and extensively commented on by Roberto Vitali.[15] As with the Ladakhi Chronicle, the historical data in the text is fragmented because it is based on much later material from several different sources, thereby affecting the accuracy of the information. Thus this work can merely provide glimpses of the possible scenario in early medieval western Tibet and Ladakh. In the next section I outline the few references to foreign disturbances in western Tibet chronicled in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*. The focus will be on Vitali's interpretation of the possible Turkic role in the affairs of Guge, which will be critically assessed. The position of Ladakh in ensuing events will also be considered.

1. An 11th century raid on Tholing

Vitali has referred to three events in western Tibet, which according to him all have a non-Tibetan involvement. The first incident took place in or around 1037, when the monastery of Tholing in Guge was attacked by the troops of the Hor.[16] Vitali's interpretation of this and the following events has been largely determined by his definition of the identity of the Hor. The Hor in the context of western Tibet always implied Turks, although post-12th century the term was used for Mongols.[17] In connection with the 1037 raid on Tholing, Vitali has identified the Hor with the Turko-Islamic Qarakhanids.[18] In addition, he also refers to the Hor as Garlogs, describing them as "Muslims settled in a territory bordering Guge [but not to the west of Guge]."[19] The Qarakhanids had conquered Khotan in the late 10th-early 11th

[15] Vitali (1996: 89-90) has argued that the author, *Ngag dbang grags pa* is thought to have been a direct disciple of *Tsong kha pa*, the founder of the Gelugpa sect. Petech (1997b: 107-8) disagrees with Vitali's suggestion both about the author and with the 1497 date of the work. Instead, Petech suggests that the identity of the author remains unknown and that the text could have been compiled in the last quarter of the 15th century, rather than as late as in 1497.
[16] Vitali: 1996: 288-89; Vitali: 1999: 24.
[17] Philip Denwood, personal communication, February 2007.
[18] Vitali: 1996: 289.
[19] *Ibid.* 348.

century, and can be considered historically to be the only Muslims "bordering Guge," as Khotan is situated to the north of western Tibet (maps 6 and 16). Nevertheless the Qarakhanids were still some distance away from Guge and especially from Tholing. It is also possible that they would have found the terrain between Khotan and western Tibet inhospitable to travel.[20] In his commentary, Vitali has seemingly identified both the Hor and Garlogs with the Qarakhanids.

(i)The Qarakhanids

The origins of the Qarakhanids are poorly recorded and scholars have suggested they possibly arose from the Qarluq, Chigil and Yaghma confederation of Turkic tribes.[21] It is thought that the Qarakhanids came to power around 840, but a historical vacuum surrounds them until the late 10th century.[22] Their domains were originally in Kashgar and Semirechye (map 15), but by the mid-11th century the dynasty had divided to form the Eastern and Western qaghanate[23] (map 16; highlighted in blue). The former controlled the region from the Syr Darya to Yetisu, Kashgaria and Ferghana, with their capital cities at Balasaghun and Kashgar.[24] The Western qaghanate consisted mainly of Transoxiana and western parts of Ferghana, and thus the Eastern qaghanate was much larger geographically[25] (map 16). The dynasty did not call itself Qarakhanid, as the term is a modern scholarly convention,

[20] See chapter I in this thesis for the description of the westernmost part of Tibet in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and in the 15th and 17th century accounts of travellers to the region.
[21] Golden: 1990: 356; Golden: 1992: 214; Paul: 2002: 71. The literature and art history of Qarakhanid culture have been discussed in chapter III of this thesis.
[22] Paul: 2002: 71. Qarakhanid history is known from later written records and numismatic evidence (Davidovich: 1998: 119). The written records, from several different sources, were critically analysed by the Russian Turcologist W. Barthold in the 1920s and his work remains valid today. In recent years, the Russian scholar Boris D. Kotchnev has studied extensively Qarakhanid coinage and produced some new interpretations regarding the political history of the Qarakhanids (Kotchnev: 2001). The coins normally have the name of the ruler with his title (Kotchnev: 2001a: 67). The earliest coins date from the late 10th century.
[23] Paul: 2002: 73.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.* Paul has noted that the Eastern qaghanate exerted influence far beyond the territories they ruled directly.

which derives its name from the most important titulature of the dynasty, Qara Khan or Qara Qagan.[26] Contemporary Islamic sources called the dynasty "Al-i Afrasiyab" and "al-Khaqaniya."[27] The Qarakhanids also made use of Turkic regnal titles such as Ilek, Tegin, Arslan and Bughra in their dynastic hierarchy.[28]

According to Tibetan sources, the invader of Ngari [Tholing] in 1037 was called *Bhara* [sic] *dan dur* of the lineage of *Hor nag mo A lan.* Vitali has argued that the name of the lineage is a Tibetan translation of the name Qarakhanid, and *A lan* is a Tibetan phonetic spelling for Arslan.[29] *Hor* means "Turk" and *nag mo* is "black," thereby implying "Black Turk," but as noted above, the Qarakhanids *never* referred to themselves as "Black Turks." Thus Vitali's interpretation that *Hor nag mo A lan* implies Qarakhanid in the 11th century context is not proven on linguistic or historical grounds. Also, the Tibetan word *Hor nag mo A lan* does *not* have the title Khan, and thus it is unlikely to denote in any way "Arslan Khan," a traditional title for the head of the Qarakhanid Eastern qaghanate.[30]

In addition to incorrectly identifying the Hor with the Qarakhanids, Vitali's description of the 1037 Tholing raid as "a typical Muslim raid without any intention

---

[26] Golden: 1990: 354. Golden: 1992: 214. Western scholars also use names Ilek-Khans and Tabgach khans for the Qarakhanids (Paul: 2002: 71). "Qara" means black.
[27] Golden: 1992: 214. Paul: 2002: 71.
[28] Davidovich: 1998: 121. The Qarakhanids had a dual system of ruler ship, where the elder brother was called the Great Khan or Arslan Khan, and the younger brother, the co-regent was known by the title Bughra khan. Both titles are Turkish animal names, Arslan meaning lion and Bughra camel.
[29] Vitali: 1996: 287.
[30] The title Arslan Khan may not have been in use at the time of the Tholing raid in 1037, as the dynasty did not divide until *c.*1040. The Tibetan text (Vitali: 1996: 287) states that "mNga.'ris of Tibet was overrun by Hor-s. *Bhara dan dur* was the sovereign of Ye.tshe (Ya. rtse) etc." Yatshe (Ya.rtse) is in the north west of Nepal, south east of Purang (map 13). The geographic location of *Bhara dan dur's* domain makes it even more difficult to justify a Qarakhanid involvement in the invasion of Ngari. Denwood (referring to Vitali: 1996: 308, fn. 479) has noted that *Bhara dandur* as a king of Yatshe seems to have received Buddhist teachings (Philip Denwood, personal communication, May 2007).

of long term occupation"[31] is perhaps too general. Historically, it is rather difficult to define a "typical" Muslim raid. Presumably it involved looting and damage to temples and idols, and territorial conquest, as one of the aims of the Turko-Islamic dynasties was to try and expand their lands on a permanent basis. In contrast, the attack on Tholing was seemingly short lived. This also suggests the invaders were not likely to have been the Qarakhanids from Khotan as to reach Tholing from the Southern Silk Road would have entailed weeks of travelling in difficult terrain, thereby rendering short occupation pointless. While Vitali has suggested that Tholing must have suffered considerable destruction in the Hor attack, the actual text does not refer to any large-scale damage.[32] On the contrary, the Hor restored a temple and thus did not appear to be particularly anti-Buddhist, thereby further suggesting that the Islamic Qarakhanids were not behind the Tholing raid.[33]

2. 12th century events

A further invasion of Guge took place in the first half of the 12th century, between 1100 and 1137, and the invaders were again the Garlogs, or the Qarakhanids from Turkestan.[34] Vitali argues that the Qarakhanids must have undertaken this "second invasion," as Islam was not yet established to the west of Guge and therefore its non-Muslim neighbours would not have attacked the kingdom.[35] He has not defined the regions to the west of Guge, but instead has used the vague term "Indo-Iranian borderlands" by which he could be implying Baltistan and Gilgit. If the two are to be understood as Guge's "non-Muslim neighbours," this contradicts Vitali's

[31] Vitali: 1996: 289.
[32] *Ibid.* fn. 443.
[33] According to a legend, the Qarakhanids were the first Turkic dynasty to be Islamised under their ruler Satuq Bughra Khan *c.* 950 (Paul: 2002: 71; Grenard: 1900).
[34] Vitali: 1996: 347, 350-51.
[35] *Ibid.* 348. He is presumably including Ladakh in Guge, as otherwise Ladakh could be understood to be Guge's western neighbour.

opinion earlier in his commentary that *Bruz ha* had been Islamised in the 11th century by the Muslim Turks.[36]

The third invasion of Guge took place in the second quarter of the 12th century by non-Muslims, but who were possibly on this occasion from the west.[37] Vitali's reasoning for a non-Qarakhanid participation in this invasion rests largely on his assumption that the Qarakhanid power in the Eastern qaghanate and especially in Khotan had weakened and thus they would not have been able to undertake an attack against Guge.[38] Furthermore, Vitali argues that the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* does not describe the invasion as being as devastating as the previous ones, thereby implying that the invaders were not the Muslim neighbours of Guge [the Qarakhanids].[39]

References to the presence of foreigners in western Tibet can also be found in other Tibetan sources. Petech's analysis of the 13th century (?) history of Tibet *lDe ston gyi chos 'byung* concludes that a major change took place in the Western Himalayas in the 12th century, which is indicated by a break in the history of the [Guge] kingdom.[40] The Tibetan sources do not reveal the reason for this interruption, although the Garlogs are mentioned in connection with the events preceding the break. According to Petech, the list of kings in Buston and in the *Ngor Chronicle* stops with *dBang lde* (possibly *c.*1080-1100), who was the son of the Guge king *rTse lde*, and the later Tibetan sources merely list royal names,

[36] *Ibid.* 281-93; Vitali: 2005: 114, fn. 18. Vitali refers to *Bruz ha* as Gilgit.
[37] Vitali: 1996: 354-55. The foreign invasion happened during the rule of *rTse 'bar btsan*, who ruled approximately in the second quarter of the 12th century (*ibid.* 354). According to Vitali, the text does not identify the invaders in any way (*ibid.*).
[38] *Ibid.* 354: " With the passing years, their [Qarakhanids'] power weakened."
[39] *Ibid.* 355.
[40] Petech: 1997a: 239.

which are not necessarily related.[41] The son of *dBang lde* (or of his brother *'Od 'bar lde*) called *bSod nams lde* had three sons, all of whom were either killed or imprisoned by the Garlog.[42] Interestingly, after *dBang lde's* successor, *bKra shis lde* (the eldest son of *bSod nams lde*, who was killed by the Garlog), the sources list a ruler called *Bha lde*, *Bha re* or *Bha le*, whose name according to Petech is not Tibetan.[43]

After *Bha lde's* successor Nāgadeva (a Sanskrit name), who was the last king of the western Tibetan confederation [Guge, Purang and Maryul], there is a break in the historical sequence, and the confederation ceased to exist, the reasons for which are not known.[44] While there is no exact date for the break-up of the confederation, Petech suggests it could have happened around the mid-12th century or slightly earlier.[45] This coincides with what he calls the "Garlog catastrophe," i.e. the fate of the three sons of *bSod nams lde* at the hands of the Garlog. The date of this incident would also fit approximately with the "second invasion" of Guge cited by Vitali. While the historical validity of the above 11th-12th century events is far from certain, nevertheless the underlying current suggests a foreign disruption, which by all accounts was substantial enough to cause a major political upheaval in Guge.[46]

Following Vitali, Petech has identified the early 12th century invaders of Guge-Purang with the Qarluqs, and further suggests that they formed the ruling class of

---

[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.* Petech has also noted that *bKra shis lde* could have been the *bKra shis rtsegs* who was killed by the Garlog. The foreign sounding names cited above by Petech bear a similarity to the supposed Qarakhanid invader of *mNga' ris, Bhara dan dur.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Petech: 1988b: 371.
[46] In his 1988 article, Petech thought that "some sort of foreign invasion or imposition of political influence took place [in Guge]" (Petech: 1988b: 370). Petech: 1997a: 239.

the Qarakhanid kingdom.[47] This assumption is historically incorrect, as the Qarluqs were a separate tribe from the Qarakhanids, and thus the two should not be identified with each other.[48] Petech's earlier opinion had been that the Tibetan Garlogs of the 9th century implied the Qarluqs but from the 10th century onwards their identity is not clear.[49] While both Petech and Vitali agree that the Garlogs were Muslim, there is no direct historical evidence for this and it is possible that after the 9th century, the Tibetans used the word "Garlog" to refer to any Turk. At present though the identity of the foreign invaders of western Tibet remains undetermined, and it must be emphasised that Vitali's argument for the Qarakhanid involvement in western Tibet rests on his misinterpretation of Turkic terms.

Notably, all the raids discussed above seemingly had no adverse effect on Guge in terms of long-term continuation of Buddhism and Tibetan culture. This suggests very strongly that the invasions (if such they can be called) were short-lived, accompanied by looting rather than the destruction of religious artefacts, and thus they were very possibly performed by non-Muslims.[50] The reason for the attack on Tholing by the Hor army could have been purely financial. As an important Buddhist temple, Tholing would have contained valuable objects, such as Buddhist sculpture made of precious and semi-precious metals.

---

[47] Petech: 1997b: 110 (review of Vitali's *The Kingdoms of Gu ge Pu hrang*).
[48] Golden: 1990: 357.
[49] Petech: 1997a: 249-50. Petech cites the tale from the 840s when a Buddhist monk fleeing to *mNga' ris sTod* [western Tibet] the prosecution in Lhasa, passed through the Garlog country and arrived in the Hor (Uygur) principality.
[50] This is in contrast to the Qarakhanid invasion of Khotan, which eventually extinguished Buddhism. Similarly, in the late 12th-early 13th century the Muslim Turks of Central Asia invaded the Pala domains in eastern India and annihilated Buddhism there.

The reason behind the Garlog/Hor raids on Guge could also have been the vast gold fields in western Tibet. Neil Howard has suggested that Turkish raiding parties must have attacked these fields frequently in the past despite there being no mention of this in extant records.[51] According to the 19th century observations and mapping, the fields are situated about 120 miles south east of Rudok and 90 miles north east of Gartok (map 2).[52] Howard has noted [generally] that the raiding Turks could have arrived in Guge either from Yarkand via the Karakoram Pass and the Pangong Lake (map 2), or from Khotan, which was approximately 450 miles away, across the Aksai Chin and the Linzhithang Plains (map 1).[53] If the main reason for the 11th–12th century invasions of Guge was raiding rather than conquering new territory, it seems that the raiders, despite their being Turks did not belong to any particular Turko-Islamic dynasty and thus are unlikely to have been Muslim.

It is possible that there were Turks inhabiting the regions around the "Musk Road" or the "Changtang Corridor," which led from the far west in Badakshan through Baltistan and the Shayok valley or Ladakh through to eastern Tibet, where western Kham was a musk-producing region (maps 1, 2, 4 and 14).[54] Denwood argues that it is very likely this corridor was a natural long-distance trade route, especially as in the past the climatic conditions in western Tibet are thought to have been much more favourable to agriculture and grazing than they are in today's arid and desolate areas that form the northern part of the Tibetan plateau (from Ladakh

[51] Howard: 2005: 133-34.
[52] *Ibid.* 133, fn. 5.
[53] *Ibid.* fn. 6. The average altitude of the route from Khotan is 5000 metres, implying harsh travelling conditions for men and animals alike.
[54] Philip Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9. See chapter I in this thesis, where musk trade is discussed.

through Ngari and the Changtang to western Amdo).[55] The trade carried along the "Changtang Corridor" would have almost certainly included high value goods such as musk, silver, semi-precious stones and gold.[56]

The Turks in Khotan

Vitali has argued for Qarakhanid participation in the invasion of Guge, and geographically this could have been possible, as they were present in Khotan from the late 10th-early 11th century.[57] Khotan was an early centre of Buddhism, which had a strategic position on the Southern Silk Road, since the caravan traffic to and from China had to pass through it (map 4). The town was also the main stop en route to Kashgar, where the Southern and Northern Silk Roads met. Khotan was a wealthy kingdom, which had a textile industry producing woven carpets, felts and fine silks, a thriving paper industry, and it was also famed for its jade.[58] The city-state's position on the Southern Silk Road was not only strategic economically, but also militarily. During the Chinese and Tibetan battles for the supremacy in Central Asia, Khotan became one of the "Four Garrisons" in the 7th century, and was under Tibetan control in the 8th and 9th centuries.

There is some evidence of contact between the Turks and the rulers of Khotan from the Khotanese documents prior to the Qarakhanid conquest from Kashgar. The Chinese scholars Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang have noted that the title *han*, which is of Turkish origin (Khan), was used in official documents by the kings of

[55] *Ibid.* Denwood: 2005: 37. According to Denwood, "this desiccation has resulted in depopulation for lack of irrigation water, and in deforestation and desertification."
[56] Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9. Denwood has also included salt, borax and wool as exported goods.
[57] There are no clear Islamic or other references to the actual date of the conquest.
[58] Whitfield: 2004: 135

Khotan at the end of Tang (618-906 AD) and at the beginning of the Five Dynasties period (907-60).[59] James Hamilton supports a late 9th-early 10th century date for the title, although he does not dismiss altogether the late 10th century as a possibility.[60] According to Zhang and Rong, the title *han* was used in contacts with the Uygurs.[61]

Hudūd al-'Ālam states that the population of Khotan consisted of Turks and Tibetans, and the ancient kingdom was placed under China rather than Tibet, which seemingly refers to the period after the Tibetan occupation, possibly in the early to mid-10th century when the independent Khotanese kings were in frequent diplomatic contact with China.[62] The above implies an established presence of Turks in Khotan, whose exact identity is not specified. Another reference in the *Hudūd* mentions the numerous Toghuzghuz (which could be the Yaghma Turks according to Minorsky) on the road from Kashgar to Khotan, close to 1000 AD.[63] This suggests an increasing Turkic presence in the proximity of Khotan from the direction of Kashgar towards the latter part of the 10th century, by which time the Qarakhanids were ruling Kashgar.

In the 970s a Khotanese king Visa Sura (r. 967-78?) defeated the Muslim Ilek-khan of Kashgar,[64] almost certainly a Qarakhanid ruler since Ilek-khan was another title

---

[59] Zhang and Rong: 1984: 28. Li Shengtian and the known kings after him were called *wang* (a Chinese title), never *han*, in documents. However, it is possible that the predecessors of Li Shengtian used the title *han*.
[60] Hamilton: 1984: 52. The title Altun Khan (Golden Khan) appears in the Khotanese manuscript P. 2958 (H. W. Bailey: 1954 and 1962).
[61] Zhang and Rong: 1984: 28.
[62] Minorsky: 1982: 85, 234. "The king of Khotan lives in great state and calls himself "Lord of the Turks and Tibetans" (*ibid.* 85). The entry also mentions the raw silk and jade of Khotan (*ibid.* 85, 86).
[63] *Ibid.* 93, 280, 260.
[64] Skjærvø: 2004: 41. Hamilton: 1984: 49. The king mentions his Tajik son at Kashgar. From the late 10th century onwards the term "Tajik" was used by the Turks to designate Iranian populations, i. e. non-Turks. Before the 11th century, Turkish and Persian authors had used the term for Arabs. As

used by that dynasty.[65] It would appear that soon after 978 relations with Dunhuang were broken off.[66] Written documents suggest that this break-up of the political and diplomatic connections was due to the chaotic political situation during the 990s there and in Ganzhou (to the east of Dunhuang; map 4) and the region in between, brought on by disputes between the Uygurs, Turks and other groups.[67] Consequently, nothing certain is known of events in Khotan in the late 10th century until the time of the Qarakhanid conquest. The Qarakhanid, Qadir Khan Yusuf, from Kashgar is recorded as "the ruler of Khotan" in the Islamic sources referring to events of 1007-1008,[68] although Chinese records of 1006 mention that the Qarakhanids had already by then conquered Khotan.[69] Kotchnev has recently suggested the city-state was under the Qarakhanid rule at the turn of the 10th to the 11th century,[70] which would support the earlier observation from the *Hudūd.*

The majority of the Turks residing in Khotan before the arrival of the Qarakhanids from Kashgar is likely to have been Buddhist, and literary evidence also implies that Buddhism was still flourishing in Khotan in the 10th century.[71] While there is no certain historical information about the identity of the Khotanese Turks, Golden places the Qarluq confederation extending from Farab-Ispijab (map 15; highlighted in green) in the west, to Tibet in the east by the mid-10th century.[72] Thus the realm would have included Khotan, with Balasaghun and Kashgar as the most important

---

the Turks conquered Muslim areas and had to differentiate between the Arabs and the Persians, they used "tajik" only for the Persians (Barthold: 1982: 56-7).

[65] Davidovich: 1998: 120.

[66] Skjærvø: 2004: 41. The chronology of the Khotanese rulers is undetermined after Visa Dharma.

[67] *Ibid.* Whitfield: 2004: 312. The evidence for the above events comes from documents discussing a diplomatic mission between the court of Khotan and the Uygur qaghan of Ganzhou.

[68] Barthold: 1992: 273. Qadir Khan Yusuf was one of the sons of Bughra Khan Harun from Kashgar.

[69] Whitfield: 2004: 135.

[70] Kotchnev: 2001b: 42.

[71] Litvinsky and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya: 1996:446-48.

[72] Golden: 1992: 199.

centres.[73] The above seems to imply that the Qarluqs, or members of their confederation were living in or near Khotan before its late 10th-early 11th century Qarakhanid conquest. Therefore it is possible that members of the Qarluq confederation fled the Qarakhanids towards western Tibet, and could have inhabited regions along the "Musk Route."

The Northern Areas of Pakistan

The pre-15th century history of the Northern Areas of Pakistan is particularly poorly understood. While A. H. Dani has suggested that Turkish ruling families replaced the Patola Shahis of Gilgit "in the middle of the eight century,"[74] there is no actual evidence for his statement. On the contrary, it is likely that the invading Tibetans took over from the Patolas during their 8th century occupation of Gilgit, which could have lasted until the mid-9th century.[75] There is some evidence to suggest that Buddhism continued to thrive in Gilgit until the late 10th century. Vitali has noted two passages on the Tibetan Buddhist master *gNubs chen,* which refer to his translation activities in *Bruz ha* in the late 9th century.[76] Denwood has suggested, however, that by that time *Bruz ha* was no longer under Tibetan control.[77] A Saka itinerary in Khotanese, written in the late 10th century, describes a journey through Gilgit and Chilas in the Northern Areas to Kashmir.[78] The text mentions eight stone *sanghāramas*, or viharas in Gilgit.[79] Thus the available, albeit meagre, textual evidence points to continuing Buddhism in the Gilgit valley in the late 10th century.

---

[73] Paul: 2002: 71. Golden (1992: 197) refers to Balasaghun as "the principal Qarluq city."
[74] Dani: 1998: 215-16.
[75] See Chapter I in this thesis, and also Philip Denwood (forthcoming 2008-9).
[76] Vitali: 1996: 167; fn. 230. Denwood: forthcoming 2008-9.
[77] Denwood: *ibid.* One of the passages refers to an Indian *dharmarāja*, a secular ruler sympathetic to Buddhism, visiting *Bruz ha* at the time of the Tibetan Buddhist master (*ibid*).
[78] Bailey: 1936.
[79] *Ibid.* 262.

A historical blank follows until about 1030 when the geographer Al-Bīrūnī completed his work on India. In it he described a situation in Kashmir that can be understood, partly at least, to have implications for Ladakh. As discussed in Chapter I, according to Al-Bīrūnī the north and part of the east of Kashmir belonged to the Turks of Khotan and Tibet,[80] and in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan there were Turkic tribes called *Bhaṭṭavāryan.* It has been argued previously in chapter I that the word *Bhaṭṭavāryan* would have been an appropriate name for a dynasty and because of its name, this Turkic dynasty could have been Buddhist or Hindu or both, but *not* Muslim. It seems likely therefore that in about the 1030s the Gilgit valley was under a Turkic dynasty, which practised Buddhism and/or Hinduism. Furthermore, the Turkic tribes seemed to have inhabited the regions neighbouring Gilgit.[81] Thus, the Turkic invasion of Ladakh could have taken place from the west, i.e. the Northern Areas of Pakistan as early as mid- to late 9th century, after the collapse of the Tibetan empire. Assessing the above textual evidence and the art historical elements from the Dukhang, it seems safe to assume that these Turks were Buddhist, who may have married into the local Ladakhi aristocracy.

Al-Bīrūnī, who worked for the Ghaznavid court would have almost certainly been familiar with the Qarakhanids, as these two Turko-Islamic dynasties enjoyed diplomatic and military relations.[82] Thus, his 1030 reference to Turks of Khotan and Tibet seems to imply non-Muslim Turks as he did not refer to them by name,

[80] Sachau: 2002: 195. It is significant that al-Bīrūnī differentiates between the *Bhaṭṭavāryan* and the Turks from Khotan and Tibet, thus suggesting his sources were knowledgeable about the different Turks.
[81] See Al-Bīrūnī in chapter I.
[82] Bosworth: 1963: 177-78, 236 ff.

which strongly suggests that the Turks who occupied the regions to the west of Ladakh were not the Qarakhanids.

The Turks in Ladakh

The *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* recounts the abduction of the Guge king *'Od lde* in *Bruz ha* during a military campaign, and his subsequent escape and death in Baltistan in 1037.[83] While the historical validity of the above events cannot be confirmed, they nevertheless suggest that a king of Guge went through Ladakh and was captured in today's Northern Areas of Pakistan. His captors may have been local Buddhist Turks (the *Bhaṭṭavāryan* in Al-Bīrūnī). It is also possible that these Turks ventured as far as Tholing in 1037, where they frightened the locals but *did not damage* the Buddhist temples. It is worth noting that Turkish-sounding names begin to appear in the Ladakhi list of kings after *'Ol lde's* demise.[84] Petech has commented on two Turkic names, *gZi di khyim* and *De mur* found in connection with the Ladakhi royal lineage. Vitali is of the opinion that *gZi di khyim* is a Dardic name and *De mur* is a Muslim, possibly from southern Turkestan.[85] Petech, however, argues that *gZi De khyim* is a Tibetan interpretation of the old Turkic title "Tegin" and *De mur* refers to Turkic Temur.[86] The text places *gZi di khyim* as the successor of *'Od lde* (*c.*1025-1060), and *De mur* is the fifth king after *'Od lde*, which would probably place him in the 12th–13th century.[87]

---

[83] Vitali: 1996: 281-87.
[84] *Ibid.* 495, fn. 833. The list of rulers from *gDung rabs zam 'phreng* has several Turkic sounding names, which continues until that of Tashi Namgyal in the 16th century.
[85] *Ibid.* 496. By "Southern Turkestan" Vitali presumably means southern Xinjiang.
[86] Petech: 1997b: 110.
[87] For the list of rulers, see Vitali (1996) p. 495, fn. 833. Petech's dates for *'Od lde* are later than those of Vitali, who has given dates of c. 995-1037 (*ibid.* 291-92). *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* only gives the date of death for *'Od lde* (*ibid.* 291).

A prince called Yagan Turk-tegin appears on Qarakhanid coins from the middle of the 11th century, where the word Turk implies that the person belonged to the Turkic community.[88] While the title "Tegin" was popular amongst the Qarakhanids in the 11th-12th century, the name Tegin was used in the early 8th century amongst the Western Turks.[89] Thus the historical origin of the actual name predates the Qarakhanids and can be considered an ancient Turkic name. It is worth noting that Tegin was seemingly used as a personal name in Ladakh, while the Qarakhanids had Tegin as a title.

Vitali has noted the succession of Tibetan and indigenous rulers in the Ladakhi lineage, but warns it should be treated with caution.[90] He does not seem to consider the possible Turkic aspect of the history of Ladakh where the importance of the lineage is based not on the accuracy of its succession but on the mere presence of foreign names, some of which are Turkic. It is unlikely that the compilers of Tibetan royal genealogies would have included foreigners in their lists unless there were grounds for doing so. Significantly, Turkic names appear in the Ladakhi genealogy, which is corrupt in terms of accurate dates and names but which nevertheless gives a strong hint of non-Tibetan rulers. The historical events described in this chapter, although vague and furnishing no clear identification of the invaders, nevertheless also allude to a foreign disturbance in western Tibet and furthermore, to a Turkic element in the invasion.

---

[88] Kotchnev: 1996: 354-55. The Qarakhanids used the titles Arslan Tegin (under the ruler of the Eastern qaghanate) and Bugra Tegin (under the Bugra Qara Khagan of the Western qaghanate) for two of their four sub-rulers (Golden: 1992: 215).
[89] Harmatta & Litvinsky: 1996: 376-77.
[90] Vitali: 1996: 496. According to Vitali, the indigenous rulers of Ladakh were Dards. The exact identity of the Dards, however, is unclear, and their status and very existence has been questioned by Clark (1977) and others.

1. Wanla

The historically significant inscription at Wanla also attests to a Turkic presence. According to the inscription the temple's founder was called *Bhag dar skyabs*, which is a non-Tibetan name.[91] The first syllable "*Bhag*" hides a foreign "beg,"[92] which is an aristocratic name, presumably of Turkic origin.[93] The inscription at Wanla also mentions the ruler's wife referred to as Khatun. Khatun is a title of Sogdian origin, which was used by the wives and female relations of Turkish rulers from the time of the Western Turks (6^{th}-7^{th} century) until the Timurid period (late 14^{th} century).[94] The title can also be found in 8^{th} century Tibet, where it was conferred on the consort of an emperor.[95]

The inscription at Wanla refers to the youngest son of *Bhag dar skyabs*, who had studied under *chos rje* at *'Bri gung*. According to Denwood, the *chos rje* in all likelihood refers to *'Bri gung chös rje* (1143-1217), the founder of the *'Brigung pa* and thus it seems *Bhag dar skyabs* ruled before 1200, perhaps even as early as the mid-12^{th} century, or possibly in the late 12^{th} century.[96] The inscription implies he was the king of a district whose territories included Alchi and Mangyu.[97] The king

---

[91] The inscription has been discussed most recently by Tropper (2007).
[92] Amy Heller, personal communication.
[93] I am grateful to Professor Doris Behrens-Abouseif for explaining the term "beg." According to her, beg is also sometimes part of a princely name as for example, in Ulugh Beg. Beg also appears in Seljuq names. Tropper (2007: 126, fn. 222) thinks the name *Bhag dar skyabs* "seems to be at least partly non-Tibetan" and that he was a descendant of the Aryan speaking people in Ladakh (see also Petech: 1977: 19).
[94] Encyclopaedia of Islam, CD-Rom. I am grateful to Dr Moya Carey for this reference. Khatun was replaced by begum, which is still used in Pakistan as the title of a lady of rank. Tropper (2007: fn. 300) thinks Khatun could imply a Kashmiri wife of *Bhag dar skyabs* and cites the Urdu translation of Khatun, which is lady or queen.
[95] Uebach: 1997: 59. The name appears as *btsan mo Ga tun*, which is a double title (Tibetan empress and Tibetan version of the Turkic khatun). According to Uebach, she originated from the Turkic speaking people, which could have been the 'A-zha, Western Turks or even the eastern Turks.
[96] Personal communication, 2007.
[97] The inscription lists *Wa kha*, *Khar po che*, *Nam*, *Kan ji*, *En sa*, *Al ci* and *Mang rgyu*. The places seem to be adjacent to Kashmir (Denwood, personal communication). I am grateful to Neil Howard for explaining in detail the location of the above places.

had recovered lands from his [presumably Turkic] ancestor, amongst them Alchi, which implies that they were both local rulers. The king's repossession of the district[98] suggests that Alchi was no longer a small kingdom of its own but belonged to the Wanla domain. The above historical evidence would support the architectural findings, which date Wanla later than the Sumtsek at Alchi, i.e. sometime in the mid to late12th century.[99]

Islamic references

If the Tibetan sources are somewhat fragmentary regarding the possible Turkic connection with western Tibet, there is one very clear reference to non-Muslim Turks in Tibet in an Islamic text, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks.*[100] The entry can be found under a miscellaneous event recorded for the year 1046-47 and reads as follows:

> From the land of Tibet this year came a great horde of Turks beyond numbers. They made contact with Arslan Khan, the ruler of Balasaghun, thanking him for the good way he ruled his subjects. They caused no trouble or no harm to his subjects but took up residence there. He sent to them and called them to convert to Islam. They did not accept but remained friendly.[101]

The above short quotation strongly suggests *a presence of non-Muslim Turks in Tibet c. mid-11th century.* It clearly refers to a considerable number of Turks arriving from Tibet (although the reasons for their migration are not known) and the

[98] "Having reached the age of thirty he took his place in Wanla, the royal domain of his ancestors, repossessed all the extensive territories which had been lost to others and brought them under firm control" (Denwood, personal communication, 2007).
[99] See chapter II.
[100] D. S. Richards (translator): 2002.
[101] *Ibid.* 62. See map 16 for the location of Balasaghun.

fact that these Turks did not wish to *convert* to Islam, and therefore it is very likely that they were Buddhist. Furthermore, the ruler of Balasaghun seemingly received these non-Muslim Turks from Tibet in an accommodating manner and this in itself is perhaps unusual and suggests he did not consider them a particular threat. The text also refers to these Turks as not being under the suzerainty of the Arslan Khan in Balasaghun, which in 1046-47 was still a Qarakhanid Eastern qaghanate capital and only came under nominal Seljuq rule in 1089.[102] Although the identity of these Turks from Tibet is not known, it is possible that they had inhabited the northern and northwestern regions of Tibet, known as the "Musk Route"

1. The conversion of the Turks

The exact date, or the number of the Turkic tribes that converted to Islam is not known. Arab sources state that in 960 AD a massive number of Turks ("200,000 tents") converted to Islam, but this may be an exaggeration rather than a historical fact.[103] Golden suggests the event was "undoubtedly the dramatic denouement" of the Qarakhanids, who were the first Turkic dynasty to be Islamised, as only the Qarakhanid conversion is likely to have occurred in substantial numbers.[104] However, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the faith had reached the Qarluqs and the other tribes belonging to the confederation by the 10th century.[105] The Islamic written sources attest to non-Muslim Turks, who during the early 11th century used to attack Islamic lands near Balasaghun and Kashgar, but who

[102] Paul: 2002: 73. Qarakhanid Sulayman b. Yusuf was the Arslan Khan of Balasaghun and Kashgar between 1040 and 1056 (Kotchnev: 2001a: 66).
[103] Paul: 2002: 71 and fn. 8; Paul: 2001: 19 and fn. 37. Paul (2002: fn. 8) suggests the conversion refers to Turks to the east of the already Muslim areas of Central Asia. The Islamised areas *c.* mid-10th century were in western Central Asia (for example, Samarqand, Bukhara; maps 11 and 12 ("Tajikistan") and thus Paul's suggestion would imply Kashgar and the regions to the east of it.
[104] Golden: 1990: 354; 1992: 215.
[105] Golden: 1992: 196.

converted to Islam in 1043.[106] According to the Seljuq annals, the only Turkic tribes who remained unconverted were the Tatars and the Qitan (also known as the Liao dynasty, the predecessor of the Qara-Khitay), who lived in China (map 17).[107]

The above clearly suggests that there were non-Muslim Turks around *c.*mid-11th century in the regions of Tibet, Xinjiang and further away in northern China. The Turks were occupying vast parts of Inner Asia and converting the entire Turkic population would have taken a substantial period of time. It also seems likely that the Turks who remained unconverted lived in areas that did not come under the direct control of any Turko-Islamic dynasty. Thus, the above reference in the Seljuq annals to non-Muslim Turks in Tibet supports the argument for non-Qarakhanid participation in the 1037 raid on Tholing, and it is even possible that these were the Turks behind the reported looting in western Tibet. Also, the Turks inhabiting the area of today's Northern Areas of Pakistan could have been Buddhist, as the region is not included in the Islamic historical records and thus is unlikely to have been ruled by any Muslim sovereign. This could imply that the Turks in Ladakh were originally from the Northern Areas. It is also very possible that the Turks who raided Tholing and western Tibet were different from the Turks who were ruling Ladakh.

Suggestions for Ladakh's historical role in the 11th-12th century

The role of Ladakh in the historical events outlined above remains unclear, but some suggestions can be made in conjunction with the art historical evidence in the Dukhang. The written sources seem to imply that Ladakh was part of the Guge-

[106] Richards: 2002: 56: "... ten thousand tents of the Turks, who used to attack Islamic lands in the regions of Balasaghun and Kashgar, raiding and causing havoc, converted to Islam."
[107] *Ibid.*

Purang confederation until its collapse *c.* mid-12th century, when a change occurred from Tibetan to possible foreign control in Guge. Vitali, although doubtful about the pre-15th century royal genealogy of *La dwags rgyal rabs*, argues that *Mar yul* was under Guge's rule from at least 1024,[108] thereby implying its control of Ladakh for approximately one hundred years. However, the *c.*mid-11th century Dukhang murals portray non-Tibetan rulers, and therefore the art historical evidence does not support the theory of a Tibetan sovereign at Alchi. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the kings of Guge exercised complete control over Alchi, but instead they could have exercised nominal rule over the region, and this might suggest that Alchi was distant from the nucleus of Guge's polity.

Alchi's location was described in inscription 7 in the Sumtsek in the following way: "...here at Alchi of Ladakh in Lower *Mar-yul* of Upper *Nga-ri*..."[109] Lower *Mar yul* can be understood to refer to today's Lower, or western Ladakh. Upper *Nga-ri* (Ngari), which is a cultural rather than a political term, would imply geographically a distant western part of Ngari. Thus Ladakh/Maryul could be deemed to have been culturally part of Ngari a thousand years ago.[110] The inscriptions and the portrayal of the women in the murals of the Dukhang support Tibetan cultural elements, while significantly the non-Tibetan aspects in the murals are the king and his men. This strongly suggests that foreigners ruled Alchi, and were married to the local Tibetan aristocracy. It is likely that Mangyu was part of the Alchi king's domain, as the subject matter and costumes in the temple's mural are practically identical to those seen in the Dukhang depictions. Thus Alchi and its regions in all likelihood

[108] Vitali: 1996: 292-93.
[109] Denwood: 1980: 148.
[110] I would like to thank Neil Howard for his helpful comments regarding both the ancient and modern geography of Ladakh.

formed a small kingdom. The clear non-Tibetan elements in the murals of the Dukhang at Alchi and Mangyu contain perhaps the strongest hint towards establishing a Turkic presence in the region *c.*mid-11th century, which was continued or reestablished in the polity of Wanla under *Bhag dar skyabs* a century or more later.

While Vitali's interpretation makes much of the 11th and 12th century Hor disturbances, it is significant that Tibetan sources do not refer to any attempts at Islamisation or to large-scale destruction taking place in western Tibet. On the contrary, the surviving archaeological evidence from the ancient Guge kingdom attests to thriving Buddhism and Buddhist communities from the 11th to the 17th century. A complete lack of any reference whatsoever to the Qarakhanids invading western Tibet in the Islamic sources is also significant, as it supports the argument for non-Qarakhanid participation in the events outlined above.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to determine the iconographic influences in "The Royal Drinking Scene" within the historical context of the region. While previous research has recognised foreign artistic currents in the mural, it has not identified their more specific origin with sufficient precision. The lack of concrete historical information in Tibetan sources pertaining to the region has hampered efforts to establish a cultural source for the mural's iconography. Therefore, the emphasis in this thesis has been on a comparative and stylistic art historical review and analysis.

The history of Ladakh in the 7^{th}-9^{th} century was interlinked with that of the Tibetan empire and its military expansion to the west. After the collapse of the Yarlung dynasty, information about Ladakh may be drawn from foreign written records, which have established the region's importance in international trade. The frequent descriptions in the Arab-Persian geographies of the westernmost part of Tibet strongly suggest that from about the late-9^{th} – late-10^{th} century, the geographers were more familiar with Ladakh than with Central Tibet. Thus, the historical role played by Ladakh was connected with trading activity, which would have brought financial benefits to the ruling power of the region.

The Dukhang was constructed according to ancient Indian temple plans, and its exterior embellishment also shows strong Indian artistic currents. Thus, the design of the doorway with its multiple lintels and jambs exhibits Gupta influence. The wooden carvings on the doorway represent strongly the Pala artistic traditions from eastern India, which can be considered contemporary with the construction and

decoration of the Dukhang. The Pala influences are perhaps most clearly reflected in the Buddhist deities placed inside architectural frames. The archaic brackets within the Dukhang and also the Sumtsek reflect techniques originally invented in Central Asia, which together with the wooden carvings reached Alchi from Indian religious architecture. The actual building methods and the raw materials used in constructing the temples are, however, Tibetan. The brackets seen in the Dukhang and the Sumtsek are repeated at Mangyu and Sumda, as are several of the painted motifs on the ceiling of the Sumtsek. This suggests that all these temples were part of the same building activity, set in motion by the patrons of Alchi. The actual structure and certain architectural features of the Sumtsek also are reflected in the later temple at Wanla.

"The Royal Drinking Scene" portrays an event, which is alien in Tibetan artistic representation. Furthermore, its appearance in a Buddhist temple makes the mural even more foreign in character. While previous research has distinguished Islamic cultural influences in the scene, the comparative art historical analysis undertaken here, has revealed certain omissions, which suggest that the iconography was derived from a non-Islamic source. The image of a centrally seated man holding a cup is frequently present in Islamic art, where it symbolises royal power. In contrast, the emphasis of the Dukhang mural is on the act of offering the cup and therefore the meaning differs substantially from that of conventional Islamic artistic imagery. The thorough iconographic analysis of both physiognomy and costume has revealed a Turkic identity for the men, while the women are ethnic Tibetans. Thus, we have in "The Royal Drinking Scene" an extremely rare portrayal of a

female cup offering, attested to in Turkic literary records from Inner Asia but apparently never previously found in a surviving work of art.

The Turkic iconographic elements are further emphasised in the scene I have called "The King, the Cup and the Hunt," where the seated, cross-legged king is in a full frontal position, and is being offered a cup by the man to his right. Additionally, the mural depicts cupbearers preparing and offering drinks, and armed men clad in non-Tibetan costumes occupy two of the registers. Men on horseback form the final part of the scene. While the mural shares both its subject matter of the three princely themes and certain compositional elements with Persian painting, the main focus in "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" is on the cup offering rather than on the ruler holding the cup. Therefore, this mural too attests to a different tradition from the Turko-Islamic one, and instead may be considered to be a representation of the purely Turkic customs from the steppe.

Despite the Turkic themes, the artists working in the Dukhang were strongly influenced by Pala painting techniques. The facial features of the participants include the projecting outer eye, which was derived from contemporary, 11^{th} century Pala arts although its ultimate origin lies in a much earlier Indian painting tradition. The men's curly strands of hair in the Dukhang closely resemble the hairstyle on deities in Pala Buddhist manuscripts, while a practically identical portayal can be found in one instance at Tholing, suggesting an artistic link between the two sites. Thus the rich artistic output represented in "The Royal Drinking Scene" and "The King, the Cup and the Hunt" owed its iconography to archaic Turkic traditions while the skilful execution of the murals may be traced to artists

trained in Pala painting techniques. The architectural concept of the temple and its artistic representation, however, are clear manifestations of profound Tibetan Buddhist beliefs.

The validity of the historical events in western Tibet remains highly problematic. Furthermore, the near complete silence regarding Ladakh in the written sources suggests a historical blank as far as the region was concerned, which could imply that its rulers, although Buddhist, were of foreign origin. This is strongly supported by the art historical evidence rehearsed in this thesis. While it would appear that the Garlogs were Turks, they may not necessarily have been Muslim. It is plausible that the Turks in Ladakh could have come from the region of today's Northern Areas of Pakistan, a region absent from Islamic historical records until much later, and could, therefore, conceivably have remained Buddhist after the departure of the Tibetans in the 9th century. The archaic iconographic features of the Dukhang artistic representation hint at non-urban traditions, thus further suggesting pre-11th century non-Islamic customs. The exact identity of the Turks in Ladakh and western Tibet is likely to remain unresolved until emergence of further textual or visual evidence. It seems certain, however, that the foreign invaders of Guge and the rulers of parts of Ladakh were Turks, who despite their hostile intentions of gaining new territory were Buddhist and allowed Buddhism to flourish.

BIBL
LONDON
UNIV

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agajanov S. G. 1998. "The States of the Oghuz, the Kimek and the Kipchak", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume IV: The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century. Part One: The historical, social and economic setting,* eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO), pp. 61-76.

Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire. 2002. (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux).

Ahmad Maqbul S. 1995. *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography (9^{th}-16^{th} century AD)* (Jordan: al-Bayt University, Mafraq).

———. 2000. "Geodesy, geology and mineralogy. Geography and cartography", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume IV: the age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century. Part Two: The achievements,* eds. C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (Paris: UNESCO) pp. 205-20.

Ahmed Monisha. 2002. *Living Fabric: Weaving among the Nomads, Ladakh, Himalaya.* (Bangkok: Orchid Press).

Alder Gary. 1985. *Beyond Bokhara: the Life of William Moorcroft, Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon 1767-1825* (London: Century Publishing).

Alexander André. 2005. *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21^{st} century.* (Chicago: Serindia Publications).

Allgrove McDowell J. 1989. "Textiles", in *The Arts of Persia,* ed. R. W. Ferrier (Yale: Yale University Press).

The Ancient Art in Xinjiang, China. 1994. (China: Xinjiang Fine Arts and Photo Publishing House).

Arts de l'Islam. Des origines à 1700. 1971. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux).

The Arts of Islam. 1976. (The Arts Council of Great Britain).

Atil Esin. 1973. *Ceramics from the World of Islam.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute).

Atil Esin, W. T. Chase and Paul Jett. 1985. *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute).

Azarpay Guitty. 1981. *Sogdian Painting.* (University of California Press).

Bacot Jacques, Thomas F. W. and Toussaint C. 1940. *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner).

Baer Eva. 1983. *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art.* (Albany: State University of New York Press).

Bailey H. W. 1936. "An Itinerary in Khotanese Saka", *Acta Orientalia,* 14, pp. 258-67.

———. 1954. *Indo-Scythian Studies: being Khotanese texts volume III.* (Cambridge: University Press).

———. 1967. "Altun Khan", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* vol. XXX, pp. 95-104.

Baipakov K. 2000. "The Silk Routes Across Central Asia", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume. IV. The age of achievement A.D. 750 to the end of the 15th century. Part Two: the achievements,* eds. C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (Paris: UNESCO), pp. 221-26.

Barnes Ruth. 1997. *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt. The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Vols. I and II.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

———. n.d. "from Riches to Rags: Indian printed cotton textiles in the Ashmolean", *Eastern Art Report*, volume IV, No.2, pp. 40-3.

Barthold W. 1913-1936. "Khotan", in *Encyclopaedia Islamica. Vol. IV,* 1st edition. (Leiden: Brill), pp. 969-70.

———. "Karluk", in *Encyclopaedia Islamica. Vol. IV,* 1st edition. (Leiden: Brill), pp. 766-67.

———. "Tibet", in *Encyclopaedia Islamica, volume VIII,* 1st edition (Leiden: Brill), pp. 741-43.

———. 1945. *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (adaptation française par Mme M Donskis). Paris: Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve.

———. 1982. "Tadzhiki Istorichesky Ocherk" ("The Tajiks. A Brief History", translated from Russian into English by J. M. Rogers), *Afghan Studies*, vol. 3 & 4, pp. 53-64.

———. 1984. *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

———. 1992 (reprint of the 1968 original). *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.* (India: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd.).

Basilov Vladimir N. 1989. *Nomads of Eurasia* (Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County).

Baumer Christopher. 2000. *Southern Silk Road.* Bangkok: Orchid Press.

Beal Samuel. 1884. *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629)* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co Ltd).

Beckwith Christopher. 1977. "Tibet and the early medieval florissance in Eurasia. A preliminary note on the economic history of the Tibetan empire", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 21, pp. 89-104.

———. 1980. "The Tibetan empire in the West", in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, eds. Michael Aris and San Sui Kyi Aung (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd), pp. 30-8.

———. 1989. "The location and population of Tibet according to early Islamic sources", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, XLIII (2-3), pp. 163-70.

———. 1993 (reprint of the 1987 original, with an afterword). *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Beek van Martijn, Bertelsen Brix Kristoffer and Pedersen Poul. 1999. *Ladakh: Culture, History and Development between Himalaya and Karakorum. Proceedings of the 8th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press).

Behl Benoy. 1998. *The Ajanta Caves: Ancient Paintings of Buddhist India.* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Belenitsky Aleksandr. 1968. *Central Asia.* Geneva: Nagel Publishers.

Bernier François. 1891 (a revised and improved edition based upon Irving Brock's translation). *Travels in the Mogul Empire A. D. 1656-1668* (London: Archibald Constable & Co).

Beshir B. J. 1978. "Fatimid military organization", *Der Islam*, LV, pp. 37-56.

Bléhaut Hwee Lie. 2001. " An interview with Lionel Fournier", *Orientations,* January, volume 32, number 1, pp. 68-75.

Bombaci Alessio.1959. "Introduction to the excavations at Ghazni. Summary report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan", *East and West* 10, nos. IV, 1-2, pp.3-22.

———. 1961. "Les turcs et l'art ghaznavide", in *First International Congress of Turkish Art.* (Ankara: University of Ankara, Institute of History of Turkish and Islamic Art), pp. 65-70.

Bosworth C. E. 1963. *The Ghaznavids. Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040 A. D.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

———. 1975. "Recruitment, Muster, and Review in Medieval Islamic Armies", in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp. (London: Oxford University Press), pp. 59-77.

———. 1977. *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Bray John (ed.). 2005. *Ladakhi Histories. Local and Regional Perspectives.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

Bregel Yuri. 2003. *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden-Boston: Brill).

Britton Nancy. 1938. *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts).

Caraman Philip. 1989. *Tibet. The Jesuit Century.* (Tiverton: Halsgrove).

Carboni Stefano. 2001. "Synthesis: continuity and innovation in Ilkhanid art", in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353,* eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), pp. 196-225.

Carter Martha L. 1974. "Royal festival themes in Sasanian silverwork and their Central Asian parallels", in *Acta Iranica*, vol. I. (Leiden: E. J. Brill), pp. 171-202.

Céramiques du monde musulman. 1999. (Paris: l'Institut du monde arabe)

Chandra Moti. 1949. *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India.* (Ahmedabad: SM Nawab).

———. 1973. *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Mediaeval India.* (India: Oriental Publishers).

Chavannes Edouard (reprint of the 1903 and 1904 original with same pagination). *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux & notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux.* (Elibron Classics).

Clark Graham E. 1977. "Who were the Dards? A review of the ethnographic literature of the north-western Himalaya", *Kailash,* V/4, pp. 323-56.

Comte E, Sauvaget Jean and Wiet G. 1931. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe, vol. 1.* (Cairo).

Contadini Anna. 1998. *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum.* (London: V&A Publications).

Coomaraswamy Ananda K. 1943. *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* (London: Luzac and Co).

Crill Rosemary. 1998. *Indian Ikat Textiles* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications).

Cunningham Alexander. 1854. *Ladak. Physical, Statistical and Historical. With Notices of the Surrounding Countries.* (London: Wm H Allen and Co.)

Curtis John. 2000. *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Parthian and Sasanian Periods: Rejection and Revival c. 238 BC-AD 642.* (London: the British Museum Press).

Czegledy K. 1973. "Gardizi on the history of Central Asia (746-780 A. D.)", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus XXVII (3), pp. 257-67.

Daneshvari Abbas. 2005. "Cup, branch, bird and fish: an iconographical study of the figure holding a cup and a branch flanked by a bird and a fish", in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp.103-25.

Dani A. H. 1998. "The Western Himalayan states", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume IV: the age of achievement: A. D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century. Part One: The historical, social and economic setting,* eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 215-26.

Dankoff Robert. 1972. "Kasgari on the tribal and kinship organization of the Turks", *Archivum Ottomanicum* IV, pp. 23-43.

———. 1975. "Kasgari on the beliefs and superstitions of the Turks", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 95, pp. 68-80.

———. 1983 (translator). *Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Hācib: Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes.* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press).

———. 1992. "Qarakhanid literature and the beginnings of Turco-Islamic culture", in *Central Asian Monuments,* ed. Paksoy B Hasan. (Istanbul: the Isis Press), pp. 83-91.

Davidovich EA. 1998. "The Karakhanids", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume IV: the age of achievement: A. D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century. Part One: The historical, social and economic setting,* eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 119-44.

Demiéville Paul.1952.*Le concile de Lhasa* (imprint).

Denwood Philip. 1975. "Brackets in the architecture of Buddhist Central Asia", *Art and Archaeology Research papers*, 7, pp. 56-63.

———. 1980. "Temple and rock inscriptions at Alchi", in *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh, vol. II,* eds. David Snellgrove and Tadeuz Skorupski (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd), pp. 119-63.

———. 1990. "Use of Indian technical literature in Tibetan architecture", *South Asian Studies*, volume 6, pp. 95-104.

———. 1994. "Sacred architecture of Tibetan Buddhism: the indwelling image", *Orientations*, June, pp. 42-7.

———. 1995. "The Tibetanisation of Ladakh: the linguistic evidence", in *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5. Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*, eds. Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: School of Oriental and African Studies), pp. 281-88.

———. 1997. "Architectural style at Shalu", in *Tibetan Art: Towards a definition of style*, eds. Jane Casey Singer and Philip Denwood (London: Laurence King Publishing), pp. 220-29.

———. 2001. "Tibetan arts and the Tibetan "Dark Age, 842-996 A.D.", a lecture given at the Circle of Inner Asian Art, SOAS, London.

———. 2005a. "Early connections between Ladakh/Baltistan and Amdo/Kham", in *Ladakhi Histories. Local and Regional Perspectives*, ed. John Bray (Leiden and Boston: Brill), pp.31-40.

———. 2005b. "Review of Dating Tibetan Art", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 68, part 3, pp. 485-87.

———. 2007. "The Tibetans in the Western Himalayas and Karakoram, seventh-eleventh centuries. Rock art and inscriptions", *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, volume 2, pp. 49-58.

———. (forthcoming 2008-9). "The Tibetans in the West: part 1 and 2", *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology,* no. 3, 2008 and no. 4, 2009.

Denwood Philip and Howard Neil. 1990. "Inscriptions at Balukhar and Char Zampa and archaeological observations on the fort Balukhar and its environs," in *Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. Tadeuz Skorupski (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies), pp. 81-8.

Devereux Robert. 1966. "Chefs, stewards and dining protocol in eleventh century Central Asia", *The Muslim World*, vol. 56, pp.111-16.

DeWeese Devin. 1994. *Islamization and the Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tukles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press).

Di Mattia Marialaura. 1996. "A historical profile of Ladakhi religious architecture", *The Tibet Journal,* XXI/ 2, pp. 90-127.

———. 2007. "The divine places of the Buddha: architectural frames in Western Himalayan art", in *Discoveries in Western Tibet and the Western Himalayas (PIATS 2003: 10th Seminar of the International association of Tibetan Studies),* eds. Amy Heller and Giacomella Orofino (Leiden-Boston: Brill), pp. 55-81.

Dinwiddie Donald (ed.). 2003. *Portraits of the Masters. Bronze Sculptures of the Tibetan Buddhist Heritage.* (Chicago and London: Serindia Publications Inc and Oliver Hoare Ltd.).

Dollfus Pascale. 1995. "Ethnohistory of Muslims in Central Ladakh (abstract)", in *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5. Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth*

International Colloquia on Ladakh), eds. Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: School of Oriental and African Studies), pp. 321-25.

Drew Frederick. 1875. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories. A Geographical Account* (London: Edward Stanford).

Dunlop D. M. 1973. "Arab relations with Tibet in the 8th and early 9th centuries A.D.", *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi (Review of the Institute of Islamic Studies),* Istanbul, V, 1-4, pp. 301-18.

Durand Algernon. 1899. *The Making of a Frontier. Five Years Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Wager, Chitral and the Eastern Hindu Kush* (London: John Murray).

Errington Elizabeth and Cribb Joe. 1992. *The Crossroads of Asia.* (Cambridge: The Ancient India and Iran Trust).

Esin Emel. 1961. "Quelques aspects des influences de l'art des anciens nomades eurasiens et de l'art du Turkestan pré-islamique sur les arts plastiques et picturaux turcs", in *First International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara: University of Ankara, Institute of History of Turkish and Islamic Arts), pp. 102-27.

———. 1963. "Two miniatures from the collections of Top Kapi", *Ars Orientalis* 5, pp.141-61.

———. 1968. "The hunter prince in Turkish iconography", in *Die Jagd beidn Altaischen Volken. Proceedings from the VIIIth Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz), pp. 18-76.

———. 1969. " 'AND': The Cup Rites in Inner-Asian and Turkish Art", in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann,* eds. Oktay Aslanapa and Rudolf Naumann (Istanbul: Baha Matbaasi), pp. 224-59.

———. 1970. "'AY-BITIĞI': The court attendants in Turkish iconography", *Central Asiatic Journal,* 14/1-3, pp. 78-117.

———. 1970-1971. "OLDRUĞ-TURUĞ: The hierarchy of sedent postures in Turkish iconography", *Kunst des Orients,* VII, Heft. 1, pp. 1-29.

———. 1973-1974. "The Turk al-Aǧam of Sāmarrā and the paintings attributable to them in the Ǧawsaq al-Hāqānī", *Kunst des Orients,* IX, Heft.1 - 2. (Wiesbaden), pp. 47-88.

———. 1977. "A pair of miniatures from the miscellany collections of Topkapi", *Central Asiatic Journal*, pp. 13-35.

———. 1980. *A History of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Turkish Culture: Supplement to the Handbook of Turkish Culture,* Series II, volume1/b (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi).

———. 1981. "Le thème de l'intronisation dans les inscriptions et la littérature turques du VIIIe au XIe siècle", *Journal Asiatique,* pp. 299-316.

Ettinghausen Richard. 1961. "Turkish elements on silver objects of the Seljuq period Iran", in *First International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara: Faculty of Theology of the University of Ankara, Institute of History of Turkish and Islamic Arts), pp. 128-33, pls. LXXVI-LXXXVII.

———. 1977. *Arab Painting* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc).

Ettinghausen Richard and Grabar Oleg. 1987. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250* (England: Penguin Books).

Fehervari Geza. 1963. "Two early 'Abbasid lustre bowls and the influence of Central Asia", *Oriental Art,* vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 79-88.

Feng Zhao. 1997. "Silk roundels from the Sui to the Tang", *HALI,* 92, May, pp. 80-5.

Ferrand Gabriel. 1913. *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII au XVIII siècles. Vol. I* (Paris: Ernest Leroux).

———. 1914. *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII au XVIII siècles. Vol. II* (Paris: Ernest Leroux).

de Filippi Filippo. 1932. *An Account of Tibet: the Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J., 1712-1717* (London: Routledge).

Flood Finbarr Barry. 1991. "Mobility and mutation: Iranian hunting themes in the murals of Alchi, Western Himalayas", *South Asian Studies*, 7, pp. 21-36.

———. 2005. "A royal drinking scene from Alchi: Iranian iconography in the Western Himalayas", in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art,* ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir Trust), pp. 73-97.

Folsach von Kjeld. 2001. *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection* (Copenhagen).

Francke A. H. 1908. "Note on Mo-lo-so", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 188-89.

———. 1992a (reprint from the 1914 original). *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, vol. I.* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services).

———.1992b (reprint of the 1926 original). *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, vol. II.* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services).

Frumkin Grégoire. 1970. *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).

Gaborieau Marc. 1973. *Récit d'un voyageur musulman au Tibet* (Paris: Librarie C. Klinksieck).

Gelfer-Jorgensen Mirjam. 1986. *Medieval Islamic Symbolism and the Paintings in the_Cefali Cathedral* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

Genoud Charles.1982. *Buddhist Wall-paintings of Ladakh* (Geneva: Olizane).

Ghafur M. A. 1965-66. "Two lost inscriptions relating to the Arab conquest of Kabul and the North West region of West Pakistan", *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. II, pp. 4-12.

Ghirshman Roman. 1962. *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Ghosh A. 1967. *Ajanta Murals* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India).

———. (ed.)1975. *Jaina Art and Architecture. Volume III* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith).

Giès Jacques, Feugère Laura and Coutin André. 2002. *Painted Buddhas of Xinjiang: Hidden Treasures from The Silk Road* (London: The British Museum Press).

Gittinger Mattiebelle. 1982. *Master Dyers to the World. Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles* (Washington, D. C: The Textile Museum).

Goeje Michael Jan de (ed.). 1870. *Al-Istakhri (Series Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, vol.1)*. (Laydan [Leiden]: Bril)

———. 1885. *Ibn al-Faqīh (Series Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 5).* (Laydin[Leiden]: Brill).

———. 1867. *Ibn Rustah (Series Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 7).* (Laydan [Leiden]: Bril).

———. (1967 reprint; French translation). *Ibn Khordādbbeh: Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (Leiden: Brill).

Goepper Roger. 1990. "Clues for a dating of the three-storeyed temple (Sumtsek) in Alchi, Ladakh", *Asiatische Studien*, XLIV, pp. 159-69.

———. 1993. "The Great Stupa at Alchi", *Artibus Asiae*, 53, ½, pp. 111-43.

———. 1995. "Dressing the temple. Textile representations in the frescoes at Alchi", in *Asian Art. The second HALI Annual.* (London: Hali Publications Ltd.), pp.100-17.

———. 1996a. *Alchi: Ladakh's Hidden Buddhist Sanctuary: The Sumtsek.* (London: Serindia Publications).

———.1996b. "Early Buddhist architecture at Alchi", in *On the Path to Void*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (India: Marg Publications), pp. 82-97.

———. 1996c. "Murals in the early temples of Alchi", in *On the Path to Void,* ed. Pratapaditya Pal (India: Marg Publications), pp.226-43.

———. 1997. "The murals of Alchi", in *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Style*, eds. Jane Casey Singer and Philip Denwood (London: Laurence King), pp. 134-49.

———. 1999. "Akshobhya and his paradise: Murals in the Dukhang of Alchi", *Orientations,* January, volume 30, no. 1, pp. 16-21.

———. 2003. "More evidence for dating the Sumtsek in Alchi and its relations with Kashmir", in *Dating Tibetan Art*, ed. Ingrid Kreide-Damani (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag), pp. 15-24.

Golden Peter B. 1990. "The Karakhanids and early Islam", in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia,* ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 343-70.

———. 1992. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

———. 2003a. "The migrations of the Oğuz," in *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (London: Ashgate Variorum), pp. 45-84.

———. 2003b. "The quest for the Rus qağanate", in *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (London: Ashgate Variorum), pp. 77-97.

———. 2005. "The Turks: A historical overview", in *Turks: a Journey of Thousand Years 600-1600,* ed. David J Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts), pp. 18-31.

Goldman Bernard. 1993. "The later pre-Islamic riding costume", *Iranica Antiqua,* vol. XXVIII, pp. 201-46.

Grabar Oleg. 1967. *Sasanian Silver. Late Antique and early Mediaeval Arts of Luxury* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Museum of Art).

———. 2000. *Mostly Miniatures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).

Granet Marcel. 1926. *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan).

Gray Basil. 1991. "Post–Sasanian metalwork", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute,* vol. 5, pp.59-64.

Grenard M. F. 1900. "La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire", *Journal Asiatique,* Janvier-Février, neuvième série, tome XV, pp. 5-79.

Grist Nicky. 1985. "Ladakh, a trading state", in *Ladakh, Himalaya Occidental: ethnologie, écologie,* ed. Claude Dendaletche (Paris: Centre Pyrenéen des Biologie et Anthropologie des Montagnes), pp. 91-107.

Gropp Gerd. 1974. *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan Chinesisch-Ost Turkestan: die Trinkler-Sammlung im Übersee-Museum, Bremen* (Bremen: Verlag Friedrich Röver).

Gulacsi Zsuzsanna. 2001. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Belgium: Brepols Publishers).

Guy John. 1998. *Woven Cargoes: Indian textiles in the East* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc).

Ham van Peter and Stirn Aglaja. 1997. *The Forgotten Gods of Tibet. Early Buddhist Art in the Western Himalayas* (Paris: Mengès).

Hamilton James. 1979. "Les règnes khotanais entre 851 et 1001," in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang sous la direction de Michel Soymié* (Geneve-Paris: Librairie Droz), pp. 49-54.

———. 1984. "Sur la chronologie khotanaise au IXe –Xe siècle", in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang, vol. III sous la direction de Michel Soymié* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient), pp. 47-53.

Harle J. C. 1994. *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

Harmatta J (ed.). 1979. *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado).

Harmatta J and Litvinsky B. A. 1996. "Tokharistan and Gandhara under Western Turk rule (650-750)", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume III: The Crossroads of Civilization A. D. 250 to 750,* ed. B. A. Litvinsky (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 367-402.

Harper Prudence. 1981. *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period. Vol. I: Royal Imagery* (New York: Princeton University Press).

——— 2000. "Sasanian silver vessels: the formation and study of early museum collections", in *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Parthian and Sasanian Periods: Rejection and Revival c. 238 BC-AD 642,* ed. John Curtis (London: British Museum Press), pp. 46-56.

Harris Clare and Tsering Shakya (eds.). 2003. *Seeing Lhasa.* (Chicago: Serindia Publications).

Hedin Sven. 1917. *Southern Tibet. Vol. I. Lake Manasarovar and the Sources of the Great Indian Rivers from the Remotest Antiquity to the End of the 18th Century* (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army).

Heller Amy. 1998. "Questions concerning Tibet and international trade routes 8th to 11th century," lecture given at the Circle of Inner Asian Art, SOAS, London.

———. 1999. *Tibetan Art* (Milan: Editoriale JacaBook SpA).

———. 2000. "Works from the Nying jei lam collection in the light of recent sculptural finds in Tibet", *Oriental Art*, vol. 46. no. 2, pp. 14-23.

———. 2002a. "The Silver Jug of the Jokhang," www. Asianart.com/articles

———. 2002b. "The paintings of Gra thang: history and iconography of an 11th century Tibetan temple", *The Tibet Journal*, vol. 27, no.1 & 2, spring and summer 2002, pp. 37-70.

———. 2003a. "The three silver brothers", *Orientations*, April, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 28-34.

———. 2003b. "Archaeological artefacts from the Tibetan empire in Central Asia", *Orientations,* April, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 55-64.

———. 2006. "Recent findings on textiles from the Tibetan empire", in *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Regina Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung), pp. 175-88.

———. (forthcoming). "Preliminary remarks on the donor inscriptions and iconography of an 11th century *mchod rten* at Tholing", in *Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies 2006*, eds. Erberto Lo Bue and Christian Luczanits.

Henss Michael. 1998. "A unique treasure of early Tibetan art: the eleventh century wall paintings of Drathang gonpa", in *Art of Tibet: Selected Articles from Orientations 1981-1997* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazine Ltd), pp. 148-53.

Hillenbrand Robert. 1982. "Problems in Islamic pottery", *Persica* 10, pp. 119-42.

———.1986. "The symbolism of the rayed nimbus in early Islamic art", *Cosmos* (the Yearbook of the Traditional Cosmology Society), vol. 2, pp. 1-52.

———. (ed.) 1994. *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia* (California: Mazda Publishers).

———. 1995. "Images of authority on Kashan lustreware", in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum: Part One*, ed. James Allan. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 167-98.

———. 1999. *Islamic Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson).

———. 2006. "The Islamic reworking of the Sasanian heritage: two case studies", in *Sifting Sands, Reading Signs: Studies in Honour of Professor Geza Fehervari,* eds. Patricia L Baker and Barbara Brend (London: Furnace Publishing), pp. 215-29.

Hinüber von Oscar. 2003. "The magnificent bronze of Nandivikramadityanandi: a delight for the beholder, a worry for the epigraphist", *Orientations,* vol. 34, number 4, April, pp. 35-9.

———. 2004. *Die Palola Sahis (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, vol. 5)* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern).

Howard Angela F. 1991. "In support of a new chronology for the Kizil mural paintings", *Archives of Asian Art*, XLIV, pp. 68-83.

Howard Neil. 1989. "The development of the fortresses in Ladakh c. 950 to c. 1650 A.D.", *East and West*, 39, pp. 217-88.

———. 2005. "Sultan Zain-ul Abidin's raid into Ladakh", in *Ladakhi Histories: Local and Regional Perspectives*, ed. John Bray (Leiden: Brill) pp. 125-47.

Huart Clément. 1907. *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire de Mutahhar Ben Tāhir el-Maqdisī, vol. IV.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux).

Huntington Susan. 1990. *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: the art of Pala India (8^{th}-12^{th} centuries) and its international legacy.* (Dayton: Dayton Art Institute in association with the University of Washington Press).

Huntington Susan with contributions by John C Huntington. 1985. *The Art of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill Co).

Huo Wei and Li Yongxian. 2001. *The Buddhist Art in Western Tibet.* (China: Sichuan People's Publishing House).

Härtel Herbert and Yaldiz Marianne. 1982. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Imperial Gazetteer of India. Provincial Series. Kashmir and Jammu. 1909.

Jackson Peter (translator). 1990. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke 1254-1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society).

Jain V. K. 1990. *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300).* (India: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd).

Jettmar Karl. 1977. "Bolor. A contribution to the political and ethnic geography of North Pakistan", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, II, pp. 411-47.

———. 1993. "The Patolas, their governors and their successors", in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, vol. 2: Reports and Studies,* ed. Karl Jettmar (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern), pp. 77-122.

———. 2002. *Beyond the Gorges of the Indus: Archaeology Before Excavation* (Pakistan: Oxford University Press).

Jones Schuyler. 1996. *Tibetan Nomads* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Kak Chandra Ram. 2000 (reprint of the 1933 original). *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International).

Karev Yury. 2005. "Qarakhanid wall paintings in the citadel of Samarqand: first report and preliminary observations", *Muqarnas,* vol. 22, pp. 45-84.

Karmay Heather (see also Stoddard Heather). 1975. *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips).

———. 1977. "Tibetan Costumes, 7th to 11th centuries", in *Essais sur l'art du Tibet,* eds. Ariane Macdonald and Yoshiro Imaeda (Paris: Jean Maisonneuve), pp. 64-81.

Keay John. 1996. *Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1820-1895* (London: John Murray).

Khandalavala and Doshi. 1975. "Miniature Paintings", in *Jain Art and Architecture, vol. III,* ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith).

Khosla Romi. 1979. *Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Himalaya* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pastak Bhandur).

Kitzinger Ernst. 1946. "The Horse and the Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 pp. 1-107 (electronic journal: JSTOR).

Klimburg-Salter Deborah E. 1982. *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes* (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council).

———. 1987. "Reform and renaissance: a study of Indo-Tibetan monasteries in the 11th century", in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memorial-Dicata*, eds. G Gnoli and L Lanciotti (Roma), pp. 683-702.

———. 1991. "Notes on two Gilgit manuscript cover paintings", in *The Art of Ajanta: New Perspectives. Vols. I and II,* ed. Ratan Parimoo (New Delhi: Books and Books), pp. 521-35.

———. 1996. "Style in western Tibetan painting: the archaeological evidence", *East and West,* vol. 46, nos. 3-4, December, pp. 319-36.

———. 1997. *Tabo, a Lamp for the Kingdom* (Milan: Skira Editore).

———. 1998. "A decorated *Prajñapāramitā* manuscript from Poo", in *Art of Tibet: Selected Articles from Orientations 1981-1997* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazines Ltd), pp. 154-60.

Klimburg-Salter Maximilian. 1982. "The setting: the Western Trans-Himalayan crossroads", in *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes*, ed. Deborah E Klimburg-Salter (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council), pp. 24-37.

Klimkeit Hans-J. 1990. "Buddhism in Turkish Central Asia," *Numen*, Vol. XXXVII, Fasc. 1, pp. 53-69.

Knight E. F. 1914. *Where Three Empires Meet. A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries.* (London: Longmans, Green & Co).

Komaroff Linda and Stefano Carboni (ed.). 2002. *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

Kotchnev Boris D. 1993-94. "The trade relations of Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries according to numismatic data", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 3, pp. 277-89.

———. 1996. "The origins of the Karakhanids: a reconsideration", *Der Islam,* band 73, Heft 1, pp. 352-57.

———. 2001a. "La chronologie et la généalogie des Karakhanides du point de vue de la numismatique", in *Études karakhanides*, Cahiers d'Asie centrale 9 (Tachkent-Aix-en-Provence: Édisud), pp. 49-76.

———. 2001b. "Les frontières du royaume des Karakhanides", in *Études karakhanides*, Cahiers d'Asie centrale 9, (Tachkent-Aix-en-Provence: Édisud), pp. 41-8.

Kozicz Gerald. 2002. "The Wanla temple", in *Buddhist Art and Tibetan Patronage Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries (PIATS 2000, Leiden),* eds. Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Eva Allinger (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill), pp. 127-36.

Kramers Johannes Hendrik and Gaston Wiet (translators). 1964. *Ibn Hauqal. Configuration de la terre (Kitāb surat al-Ard). Volumes I and II.* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve & Larose).

Kramrisch Stella. 1928 (second revised and enlarged edition). *The Viṣṇudharmottara, part III. A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-making* (Calcutta: University Press).

———. 1983. "Ajanta", in *Exploring India's Sacred Art*, ed. Barbara Miller (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press), pp. 273-307.

Latham Ronald (translator). 1958. *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London: Penguin Books).

Le Coq von Albert. 1925. *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer and Ernst Vohsen).

Le Strange Guy. 1966. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London).

Leidy Denise P. 2001. "Bezeklik temple 20 and early esoteric Buddhism", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 7, pp. 201-22.

Lev Yaacov. 1997. "Regime, army and society in medieval Egypt, 9th-12th centuries", in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean: 7th-15th Centuries*, ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden-New York-Köln: E. J. Brill), pp. 115-52.

Lewis Geoffrey (translator). 1974. *The Book of Dede Korkut* (London: Penguin Books).

Litvinsky B. A. and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya M. I. 1996a. "Religions and religious movements II", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume III: The crossroads of civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750*, ed. B.A. Litvinsky with co-editors Zhang Guang-da and R Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 421-48.

Litvinsky BA. 1996b. "The Hephthalite empire", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia Vol. III: The crossroads of civilizations AD 250 to 750*, ed. B.A. Litvinsky with co-editors Zhang Guang-da and R Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 135-62.

Liu Yingsheng 2001. "A century of Chinese research on Islamic Central Asian history in retrospect", in *Études karakhanides*, Cahiers d'Asie centrale (Tachkent-Aix-en- Provence: Édisud), pp. 115-23.

Losty Jeremiah P. 1982. *The Art of the Book in India* (London: The British Library).

Loukonine Vladimir and Anatoli Ivanov. 2003. *Persian Art. Lost Treasures* (London: Sirrocco).

Luczanits Christian. 2002. "Wanla Bkra shis *gsum brtsegs*", in *Buddhist Art and Tibetan Patronage Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries,* eds. Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Eva Allinger (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill), pp. 115-26.

———. 2004. *Buddhist Sculpture in Clay: Early Western Himalayan Art, Late 10th to Early 13th Centuries* (Chicago: Serindia Publications).

———. 2005. "The early Buddhist heritage of Ladakh reconsidered", in *Ladakhi Histories: Local and Regional Perspectives*, ed. John Bray (Leiden-Boston: Brill), pp. 65-96.

Marshak Boris. 2001. "The Sogdians in their homeland," in *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China,* eds. Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner (New York: Harry N. Abrams), pp. 230-37.

———. 2002. *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press).

Martinez A. P. 1982. "Gardizi's two chapters on the Turks", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 2, pp. 109-217.

Massé Henri. 1973. *Ibn Al-Fagīh al Hamadani: Abrégé du livre des pays* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas).

Meir G. 1995. "A. H. Francke- a 'brother in spirit' to Alexander Csoma de Körös", in *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5. Proceedings of the 4th and 5th International Colloquia on Ladakh,* eds. Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: SOAS), pp. 397-404.

Melikian-Chirvani A. S. 1967. "Trois manuscripts de l'Iran seldjukide", *Arts Asiatiques,* Tome XVI, pp. 3-51.

———. 1971. "The Buddhist heritage in the art of Iran", in *Mahayanist art after A.D. 900*, ed. W Watson (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art), pp. 56-65, 116-18.

———. 1992. "The Iranian *Bazm* in early Persian sources", in *Banquets d'Orient* (Res Orientales Volume IV) (France: le Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient), pp.95-120.

Miller Stoler Barbara 1983. *Exploring India's Sacred Art: Selected Writings of Stella Kramrisch* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press).

Minorsky V. 1962. "Ibn Farighun and the Hudūd al-'Ālam", in *Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London: Perry Lund, Humphries and Co Ltd), pp. 189-96.

———. 1982. (reprint of the 1937 original, with addenda). *Hudūd al-'Ālam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography 372 A. H. – 982 A. D.* (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust).

Moorcroft William. 1986. (reprint of the 1837 original). *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab from 1819-1825.* (New Delhi: Niranad Publishers).

Moule A. C. and Pelliot Paul. 1938. *Marco Polo. The Description of the World. Vol. 1.* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd.).

Namgyel P.2001. *Ntho-ling Monastery.* (Beijing).

Nawab Sarabhai M. 1959. *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars* (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Manilal Nawab).

———. 1980-1985. *Jain paintings vol. I* (Ahmedabad: Messrs Sarabhai Manilal Nawab).

Oba Juten. 2002. "Which is the origin of the Karakhanids, Uighurs or Karluks?" in *The Turks, 2: Middle Ages,* eds. Hasan Celal Güzel, C Cem Oguz, Osman Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications), pp. 79-83.

Okada Amina. 2000. *Sculptures indiennes du musée Guimet* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux).

L'Orient de Saladin: l'art des Ayyoubides. 2001. (Paris: Gallimard Institut du monde arabe).

Orofino Giacomella. 1990. "A note on some Tibetan petroglyphs of the Ladakh area", *East and West*, vol. 40, pp. 173-200.

Otavsky Karl. 1998. "On the classification of the textiles in terms of art history" (rough translation from the German original "Zur kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe"), pp. 1-52, in *Entlang der Seidenstrasse: Frühmittelalterliche Kunst zwischen Persien und China in der Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg), pp. 119-214.

Otto-Dorn Katharina. 1956. "Bir Selçuk Gümüs Kãsesi" ["A Seljuk silver bowl"], *Vakiflar Dergisi* III (Ankara), pp. 85-92.

———. 1961-62. "Türkisch-Islamisches bildgut in den figurenreliefs von Achtamar", *Anatolia*, VI, pp.1-69, plates I-XIX.

———. 1967. *L'art de l'islam* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel).

Pal Pratapaditya and Fournier Lionel. 1982. *A Buddhist Paradise: The Murals of Alchi* (Hong Kong: Ravi Kumar for Visual Dharma Publications Ltd).

Pal Pratapaditya. 1983. *Art of Tibet* (California: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press).

———.1993. *Indian Painting. Volume I (1000-1700).* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

———. 1994. *The Peaceful Liberators. Jain Art from India* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

———. 2003. *Himalayas: An Aesthetic Adventure.* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago).

———. 2007. *Arts of Kashmir.* (New York: Asia Society; Milan: 5 Continents Editions srl.).

Pancaroğlu Oya. 2005. "The Seljuks of Iran and their successors", in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600,* ed. David J. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts), pp. 70-7.

Papa-Kalantari Christiane. 2007. "The art of the court: some remarks on the historical statigraphy of eastern Iranian elements in early Buddhist painting of Alchi, Ladakh", in *Text, Image and Song in Transdisciplinary Dialogue*, eds. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Kurt Tropper and Christian Jahoda (Leiden-Boston: Brill), pp. 167-228.

Paul Jürgen. 2001. "Nouvelles pistes pour la recherche sur l'histoire de l'Asie centrale à l'époque karakhanide (Xe - début XIIIe siècle)", in *Études karakhanides,* Cahiers d'Asie centrale 9 (Tachkent-Aix-en-Provence: Édisud), pp. 13-34.

———. 2002. "The Karakhanids", in *The Turks, 2: Middle Ages*, eds. Hasan Celal Güzel, C Cem Oguz and Osman Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Publications), pp. 71-8.

Pellat Charles. 1962. *Mas'ūdī (mort en 345/956). Les prairies d'or. Tome II* (Paris: Societe Asiatique).

Pelliot Paul. 1959. *Notes on Marco Polo. Volume I.* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve).

———. 1961 (oeuvres posthumes). *Histoire ancienne du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient).

———. 1963. *Notes on Marco Polo. Volume II.* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve).

Petech Luciano. 1977. *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.* (Rome).

———. 1988(a). (originally published in 1947). "Tibet nella geografia musulmana", in *Selected Papers on Asian History (Petech Luciano)* (Rome: IsMEO), pp. 1-18.

———. 1988 (b). "Ya-tse, Gu-ge, Pu-ran: a new study", in *Selected Papers on Asian History* (Roma: Serie Orientale Roma LX), pp. 369-94.

———. 1997(a). "Western Tibet: historical introduction", in *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, ed. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Milan: Skira Editione), pp. 229-56.

———. 1997 (b). "A regional cronicle of Gu ge pu hrang", *Tibet Journal*, 22, Autumn 1997 no. 3, pp. 106-11.

———. 1999 (reprint of the 1939 original). *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet).* (Delhi: Low Price Publications).

Phylactou Maria. 1989. *Household Organisation and Marriage in Ladakh Indian Himalaya* (Unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of London).

Pichard Pierre and François Lagirarde 2003. *The Buddhist Monastery: A Cross-cultural Survey* (Paris: École français d'extrême-orient).

Pingree David. 1981-82. "Sanskrit evidence for the presence of Arabs, Jews and Persians in western India: ca. 700-1300", *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda*, vol. XXXI, no. I-4, pp. 172-82.

Piotrovsky M. B. and J. M. Rogers (eds.). 2004. *Heaven on Earth. Art from Islamic Lands.* (Munich-Berlin-London-New York: Prestel).

Poell Heinrich. 2004. "Wooden temple doors in Ladakh, 12th-14th centuries CE", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai,* vol. 79. pp. 191-204.

Pope Arthur Upham and Ackerman Phyllis (eds.) 1967. *A Survey of Persian Art. From Prehistoric Times to the Present. Volumes VII and X.* (London-New York: Oxford University Press).

Pritzak O. 1954. "Die Karakhaniden", *Der Islam*, 31, pp. 17-68.

Pritzker Thomas. 1997. "The wall paintings in the Dukhang of Tabo", in *Tibetan art: Towards a Definition of Style*, eds. Jane Casey Singer and Philip Denwood (London: Laurence King Publishing), pp. 150-59.

———. 1998a. "The wall paintings of Tabo", in *Art of Tibet: Selected articles from Orientations 1981-1997* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazine Ltd.), pp.70-80.

———. 1998b. "A preliminary report on early cave paintings of western Tibet", in *Art of Tibet: Selected Articles from Orientations 1981-1997*(Hong Kong: Orientations Magazines Ltd.), pp. 206-27.

Pugachenkova G. A. and Rempel L. I. 1965. *Istoriaa iskusstv Uzbekistana s drevneishikh vremen do serediny deviatnadtsatogo veka [A History of the Arts of Uzbekistan from the Earliest Times until the Middle of the 19th Century]* (Moscow: Iskusstv).

Rao Nina. 1999. Le désert Himalayen. (New Delhi: Lustre Press Pvt. Ltd.)

Reynolds Valrie. 1999. *From the Sacred Realm. Treasures of Tibetan Art from the Newark Museum* (Munich-London-New York: Prestel).

Rhie Marilyn. 1997. "Eleventh-century monumental sculpture in the Tsang region", in *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Style*, eds. Jane Casey Singer and Philip Denwood (London: Laurence King Publishing), pp.38-51.

Rice David S. 1958. "Studies in Islamic metal work-VI", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXI, pp.225-53.

Rice Talbot David. 1966. *Islamic Art* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Rice Talbot Tamara. 1965. *Arts of Ancient Central Asia* (New York and Washington: Frederick A Praeger, Publishers).

———. 1969. "Some reflections on the subject of arm bands", in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, eds. Oktay Aslanapa and Rudolf Naumann (Istanbul: Baha Matbaasi), pp. 262-77.

Richards D. S. 2002. *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks.* (Translated and annotated by D. S Richards) (London: Routledge and Curzon).

Richardson Hugh. 1975. "More on ancient Tibetan costumes", *Tibetan Review,* May and June, pp. 15, 24.

———. 1998. "The first Tibetan *Chos-'byung*", in *High Peaks, Pure Earth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*, ed. Michael Aris (London: Serindia Publications), pp. 89-99.

Rizvi Janet. 1996. *Ladakh: Crossroads of High Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

———. 1999. "The trade in pashm and its impact on Ladakh's history", in *Ladakh: Culture, History and Development between Himalaya and Karakoram. Proceedings of the 8th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies,* eds. Martijn van Beek, Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and Poul Pedersen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press), pp. 317-38.

———. 2001. *Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchant Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh.* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Rogers Clive. 1983. *Early Islamic Textiles* (Brighton: Rogers and Podmore).

Rogers Michael J. 1969. "Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol relations, 1260-1360", in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Cairo), pp.385-403.

Ross Denison E and Elias N. 1895. *The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Doughlat. A History of the Moghuls in Central Asia.* (London: Sampson Low, Marsh and Co Ltd).

Roux Jean-Paul. 1982. *Études d'iconographie islamique: Quelques objets numineux des Turcs et des Mongols.* Cahiers Turcica (Belgium: Editions Peeters-Leuven).

Rowland Benjamin.1974. *The Art of Central Asia* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc.,).

Roxburgh David J. (ed). 2005. *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years* (London: Royal Academy of Arts).

Rubinacci Roberto. 1974. "Il Tibet nella geografia d'Idrisi", in *Gururajamanjarika: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci. Vol. I* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale), pp. 195-230.

Russell-Smith Lilla. 2005. *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.* (Leiden and Boston: Brill).

Sachau Edward C. 1879. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London: William H. Allen & Co.).

———. 2002 (reprint of the 1888 original). *Albêrûnî's India* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co).

Sahni Daya Ram. 1918 "Pre-Muhammadan monuments of Kashmir", in *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1915-16*, ed. Marshall J. H. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing), pp. 49-78.

Sauvaget Jean. 1951. "Une représentation de la citadelle seljoukide de Merv", *Ars Islamica,* vols. XV-XVI, pp. 128-32.

Scerrato Umberto. 1962. "Islamic glazed tiles with moulded decoration from Ghazni", *East and West*, 13, pp. 263-72.

Schafer Edward H. 1985. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of Tang Exotics* (California: University of California Press).

Schlumberger Daniel. 1952. "Le palais ghaznévide de Lashkari Bazar", *Syria*, 29, pp. 251-70.

Schlumberger Daniel, Sourdel-Thomine J and Gardin Jean Claude. 1978. *Lashkari Bazar. Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride.* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologiques française en Afghanistan). (Paris: C. Klincksieck).

Sela Ron. 2003. *Ritual and Authority in Central Asia: the Khan's Inauguration Ceremony*, Papers on Inner Asia, no. 37 (Indiana: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies).

Sengupta Ranjana. 1991. *Ajanta and Ellora* (Hong Kong: Local Colour Ltd.).

Shastri Lobsang. 1994. "The marriage customs of Ru-thog (mNga'-ris)", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture), pp. 755-67.

Sheikh Abhul D. 1999. "Economic conditions in Ladakh during the Dogra period", in *Ladakh: Culture, History and Development between Himalaya and Karakoram. Proceedings of the 8th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies* eds. Martijn van Beek, Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and Poul Pedersen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press), pp. 339-49.

Shepherd Dorothy G. 1974. "Banquet and hunt in medieval Islamic iconography", in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. Ursula E McCracken, Lilian M.

C. Randall and Richard H Randall (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery), pp.79-92, xiii-xviii.

Sims Eleanor (with Boris Marshak and Ernst J Grube). 2002. *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and its Sources* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

Sims-Williams Nicholas. 1974-1986. "The Sogdian inscriptions of the Upper Indus: a preliminary report", *Pakistan Archaeology*, vol. 10-22, pp. 196-202.

———. 1993. "The Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh", in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Vol. 2*, ed. Karl Jettmar (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern), pp. 151-63.

Singer Casey Jane. 1997. "The sublime image: early portrait painting in Tibet", in *First Under the Heaven: the Art of Asia, The 4th Hali Annual.* (London: Hali Publications Ltd), pp. 126-41.

———. 1998. "An early painting from Tibet", in *Arts of Tibet 1981-1997: Selected Articles from Orientations* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazine Ltd.), pp. 21-5.

Singh Madanjeet. 1971 (revised small-format edition). *Himalayan Art* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd).

Sinor Denis. 1990. "The establishment and dissolution of the Turk empire", in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia,* ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 285-316.

———. 1998. "The Kitan and the Kara Khitay", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume IV: the age of achievement: A. D. 750- to the end of the fifteenth century. Part One: The historical, social and economic setting,* eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 227-42.

Sinor Denis and Klyashtorny S. G. 1996. "The Türk empire", in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Volume III: The crossroads of civilizations: A.D. 250*

to 750, ed. B.A. Litvinsky with co-editors Zhang Guang-da and R Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing), pp. 327-48.

Skjærvo Prods Oktor. 2004. "Iranians, Indians, Chinese and Tibetans: the rulers and ruled of Khotan in the first millennium", in *The Silk Road. Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, ed. Susan Whitfield (London: British Library), pp. 34-42.

Snellgrove David L and Skorupski Tadeus. 1977. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh. Vol. one.* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.).

———. 1980. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh. Vol. 2.* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd).

Stang Haakon. 1990. "Arabic sources on the Amdo and a note on Gesar of Glin", in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, Tomus XLIV (1-2), pp. 159-74.

Stein Aurel M. 1922. "A Chinese expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A. D. 747", *The Geographic Journal*, February, pp. 112-31.

———. 1941. *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks.* (Chinese reprint).

———. 1981a (reprint of the 1907 original). *Ancient Khotan. Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan. Vols. 1 and II Text, Vol. III Plates* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications).

———. 1981b (reprint of the 1928 original). *Innermost Asia. Volume I.* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications).

———. 1989 (reprint of the 1900 original). *Kalhana's Rajatarangini. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Volumes 1 and 2.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).

Stein R. A. 1956. *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version Lamaique de Ling* (imprint).

———.1959. *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet.* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises).

———. 1998. *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

Stellrecht Irmfraud 1998. "Economic and political relationships between Northern Pakistan and Central as well as South Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", in *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change. Part II*, ed. Irmfraud Stellrecht (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag), pp. 3-20.

Stoddard Heather. 2003a. "'Bri gung, Sa skya and Mongol patronage: a reassessment of the introduction of the Newar ' Sa skya' style into Tibet", in *Dating Tibetan Art*, ed. Ingrid Kreide-Damani (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag), pp.59-69.

———. 2003b. "Fourteen centuries of Tibetan portraiture", in *Portraits of the Lamas,* ed. Donald Dinwiddie (Chicago and London: Serindia Publications Inc and Oliver Hoare Ltd), pp. 14-61.

Swietochowski Lukens Marie and Carboni Stefano. 1994. *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images. Persian Paintings of the 1330s and 1340s* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Taddei Maurizio. 1987. "Non-Buddhist deities in Gandharan art - some new evidence", in *Investigating Indian Art,* eds. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz), pp. 349-62.

Textiles of Late Antiquity. 1995. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Thakur Laxman. 2001. *Buddhism in the Western Himalaya: A Study of the Tabo Monastery* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

Thomas F. W. 1935. *Tibetan Literary Texts Concerning Chinese Turkestan. Part I: Literary Texts* (London: Royal Asiatic Society).

———. 1951. *Tibetan Literary Texts Concerning Chinese Turkestan. Part II: Documents* (London: Royal Asiatic Society).

Three Great Caves of the Dunhuang Grottoes. 2000. (China: Gansu Culture Publishing House).

Togan Validi A. Zeki. 1966 (reprint of the 1939 original). *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht* (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd.).

Trésors fatimides du Caire. 1998. (Paris: Institut du monde arabe).

Tropper Kurt. 2007. "The historical inscription in the *Gsum brtsegs* temple at Wanla, Ladakh", in *Text, Image and Song in Transdisciplinary Dialogue: Proceedings of the 10th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford 2003*,

eds. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, Kurt Tropper and Christian Jahoda (Leiden-Boston: Brill), pp.105-56.

Tsuchiya Haroko. 1998. "Field research along the ancient routes in the Northern Pakistan (1991-1995)", in *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change*. Part II, ed. Irmtraud Stellrecht (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag), pp. 45-70.

--------"--------. 1999. "Tracing ancient routes in Northern Pakistan. Field Research 1991-1996 (preliminary report)", in *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. Michael Almar and Deborah E Klimburg-Salter (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie), pp. 353-76.

Tucci Giuseppe. 1937. "Indian paintings in western Tibetan temples", *Artibus Asiae*, VII, pp. 191-204.

———. 1956. *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*. (Rome: IsMEO.).

———. 1967. *Tibet.Land of Snows*. (London: Elek Paul Limited).

———.1973. *Transhimalaya* (London: Barrie & Jenkins).

———. 1988a. (English translation of the 1932 original). *Rin-chen-bzan-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millennium.* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan).

———. 1988b. (English translation of the 1935 original). *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism. The Monasteries of Spiti and Kunavar (Indo-Tibetica III.1.* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan).

———.1989a. (English translation of the 1935 original*). The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism.Tsaparang (Indo-Tibetica III. 2).*
(New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan).

———. 1989b. (English translation of the 1941 original). *Gyantse and its Monasteries, Part 3: Plates (Indo-Tibetica IV. 3).* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan).

Tucci Giuseppe and Ghersi E. 1996 (reprint of the 1933 original). *Secrets of Tibet. Being the Chronicle of the Tucci Scientific Expedition to Western Tibet (1933).*
(New Delhi: Cosmo Publications).

Uebach Helga. 1997. "Eminent ladies of the Tibetan empire according to old Tibetan texts", in *Les habitants du toit du monde: études recueillies en homage à Alexander W. MacDonald*, eds. Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie), pp. 53-74.

Uray Geza. 1960. "The four horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, X/1, pp. 31-57.

———. 1979. "The old Tibetan sources of the history of Central Asia up to 751 A.D: a survey", in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of the Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J. Harmatta (Budapest: Academiai Kiado), pp. 275-304.

———. 1983. "Tibet's connections with Nestorianism and Manicheism in the 8th-10th centuries", in *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture.*

Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium, Vienna, Austria, September 1981, volume I, eds. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Universität Wien), pp. 399-429.

--------"--------. 1990. "The old name of Ladakh", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, Tomus XIIV (1-2), pp. 217-24.

Vaissière de la Étienne. 2002. *Histoire des marchands sodgiens* (Paris: Collège de France. Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises).

Vandier-Nicolas Nicole. 1954. *Śariputra et les six maîtres d'erreur* (fac-simile du manuscript chinois 4524 de la bibliothèque nationale, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale) (Paris Imprint nationale).

Vergara Mortari Paola and Gilles Beguin. 1987. *Demeures des hommes, sanctuaires des dieux* (Rome: il Bagatto).

Vitali, Roberto. 1990. *Early Temples of Central Tibet.* (London: Serindia).

———. 1996. *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang according to mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs by Guge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa.* (India: Dharamsala).

———. 1997. "A Rejoinder to Luciano Petech's Review of Roberto Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang", *Tibet Journal*, 22, Autumn 1997, no. 3, pp.135-40.

———. 1999. *Records of Tholing* (India: High Asia).

———. 2005. "Some conjectures on change and instability during the one hundred years of darkness in the history of La dwags (1280s-1380s)", in *Ladakhi Histories: Local and Regional Perspectives*, ed. John Bray (Leiden-Boston: Brill), pp. 97-123.

Vohra Rohit. 1995. "Arabic inscriptions of the late first millennium A.D. from Tangtse in Ladakh", in *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5. Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*, eds. Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: School of Oriental and African Studies), pp. 419-29.

Wandl Erna. 1997. "The Representation of Costumes and Textiles", in *Tabo. A Lamp for the Kingdom,* Deborah E Klimburg-Salter (Milan: Skira Editore), pp.179-87.

Ward Rachel. 1993. *Islamic Metalwork* (London: British Museum Press).

Warikoo Kulbushan. 1992. "Ladakh's trade relations with Tibet under the Dogras", in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989. Volume 2: Language, History and Culture*, eds. Shore Ihara and Zuiho Ysamaguchi (Japan: Naritashan Shinshoji), pp. 853-61.

———. 1995. "Gateway to Central Asia: the trans-Himalayan trade of Ladakh, 1846-1947", in *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5. Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*, eds. Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: School of Oriental and African Studies), pp. 235-47.

Watson Oliver. 2004. *Ceramics from Islamic Lands* (London: Thames and Hudson in association with the al-Sabah collection Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah Kuwait National Museum).

Whitfield Roderick and Farrer Anne.1990. *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* (London: British Museum Press).

Whitfield Susan (ed.). 2004. *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (London: British Library).

Wiet Gaston. 1937. *Ya'kubi. Les Pays.* (Cairo: L'institut français d'archeologie orientale).

Williams Joanna. 1973. "Iconography of Khotanese Painting", in *East and West*, pp. 109-54.

Xu Xinguo. 2006. "Study on the pictures of the coffin panels from Tubo tombs at Guolim township", in *Western China and the Eastern and Western Civilizations* (Beijing: Yanshan Chubanshe), pp. 300-28.

Yanagi Muremoto. 1985. "The ceiling paintings of Alchi" (translation from Japanese), *KOKKA*, no. 1087, pp. 11-22.

Yarshater Ehsan. 1960 - 1962. "The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early Persian poetry", *Studia Islamica*, XIII, pp. 43-53.

Zangmo D. 1975. "Tibetan Royal Costumes in Dunhuang Wall-paintings", *Tibetan Review,* February-March, pp. 18-19.

Zelinskiy AN. 1965. "Ancient routes through the Pamirs", (abridged English translation from Russian), *Central Asian Review*, vol. 13, n, 1, pp. 44-54.

Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang. 1984. "Les noms du royaume de Khotan", in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang, volume III* (sous la direction de Michel Soymié) (Paris: École française d'extrême orient), pp.23-46.

Zhou Jiajin. 1986. *Treasures of Forbidden City. National Palace Museum, Taipei.* (London-New York: Viking).

Zla ba tshe ring. (ed.) 2000. *Precious Deposits: Historical Relics of Tibet, China. Vols. I-V.* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers).

Zwalf W (ed.). 1985. *Buddhism: Art and Faith* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd).

BIBL LONDON UNIV.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DRINKING SCENE IN THE DUKHANG AT ALCHI, LADAKH

Marjo Alafouzo

VOLUME II: ILLUSTRATIONS

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

June 2008

BIBL. LONDON UNIV.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

Abbreviation:

WHAV: Western Himalaya Archive Vienna

Chapter II

3. 49. Mural painting, 11th century, Dungkar, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Zla ba tshe ring 2000, vol. 2, fig. 200, page 321).

3. 50. Mural painting depicting donors, 11th century, Yemar (Iwang), Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Tucci 1989 IV. 3, fig. 48).

3. 51. Modern women's dress, Ladakh. (After Ahmed 2002, fig. 109, page 112).

3. 52. The retinue of protectress *Wi nyu myin*, detail of a mural painting, late 10th century, Entry Hall, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 37, page 76).

3. 53. Protectress *Wi nyu myin*, detail of a mural painting, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 56, page 94).

3. 54. Metal sculpture of the Buddha Vairocana. Height 41 cm. 11th century, Central Tibet. Pritzker Collection, Chicago. (After Pal 2003, fig. 110, page 171).

3. 55. Modern felt boots, Ladakh. (After Ahmed 2002, fig. 102, page 109).

3. 56. "King of the Tibetans listening to a sermon," mural painting, Cave 159, 781-847 AD. Dunhuang. (After *Three Great Caves of the Dunhuang Grottoes* 2000, page 86).

3. 57. A detail from the scene "the Descent of the Buddha from Heaven", mural painting, Cave 17. 5th-6th century, Ajanta, India. (After Behl 1998, page 204).

3. 58. A scene from the *Mahajanaka jātaka*, mural painting, Cave 1. 5th-6th century, Ajanta, India. (After Behl 1998, page 99).

3. 59. A detail from the *Visvantara jātaka*, mural painting, Cave 17. 5th-6th century, Ajanta, India. (After Behl 1998, page 159).

3. 60. Mural painting on the ceiling of Cave 1. 5th-6th century, Ajanta, India. (After Behl 1998, page 108).

3. 84. Mural painting depicting Uygur princes, 62.4 x 59.5 cm. Bezeklik, Temple 9. 9th century. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (MIK III 6876a). (After Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, fig. 108, page 170).

3. 85. A panel from a Sogdian funerary couch, white marble with pigments and gold, Height 61.5 cm, width 27.9 cm. 6th century, northern China. Miho Museum, Shiga, Japan. (After Whitfield 2004, fig. h, page 117).

3. 86. Mural, detail from the Ambassadors' Painting, Afrasiab, Uzbekistan. (After Whitfield 2004, fig. 4, page 111).

3. 87. Mural, Peacock Cave, Kizil, Xinjiang, China. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Germany. (After Rowland 1970, page 157).

3. 88. Mural, Cave of the Statues, 7th century, Kizil, Xinjiang, China. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Germany. (*Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire* 2002, fig. 120, page 160).

3. 89. Mural of a Bodhisattva, painted cupola in the Cave 1 (Chimney Cave), Kumtura, Xinjiang, China. (After Giès, Feugère and Coutin 2002, page109).

3. 90. Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, painting on ramie, 95.0 x 59.0 cm. 9th-10th century. Found at Murtuk, Xinjiang. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (MIK III 8559). (After Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, fig. 151, page 213).

3. 91. Drawing of Avalokiteshvara, ink and colours on paper. Height 30 cm, width 26 cm, early to mid-9th century. Cave 17, Dunhuang, China. (After Whitfield and Farrer 1990, fig. 52, page 73).

3. 92. Drawing of Bodhisattva, ink and colours on paper. Height 42.5 cm, width 26 cm, early to mid-9th century. Cave 17, Dunhuang, China. (After Whitfield and Farrer 1990, fig. 53, page 74).

3. 104. Ceramic fragment, 11th century, Egypt. (After Britton 1938, fig. 98).

3. 105. Fragment from a hand scroll. Painting on paper, height (max). 0.20, length 324.5 cm, 10th century, probably from the Turfan region. Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Germany (MIK III 520). (After Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, fig. 152, page 215).

3. 106. Line drawing of a Mongol manuscript frontispiece, 26 x 37.5 cm. 13th century. Topkapi Museum, Istanbul, Turkey. (After Esin 1963, fig. 4, page 149).

3. 107. Mural painting of a donor, 11th century, Yemar (Iwang), Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Tucci 1989 IV. 3, fig. 47).

3. 108. Tibetan pilgrim, 20th century. (After Tibet Image Bank; postcard).

3. 109. Fritware bottle, with polychrome decoration and gold in and over an opaque, white glaze (*mina'i* type). Height 16. 8 cm. *c.*1200 AD, Kashan, Iran. The David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark. (After von Folsach 2001, fig. 170, page 153).

3. 110. Wool hanging, discovered at Antinöe, Egypt. 7th century? Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC. USA. (Inv. No. 39.13). (After Otavsky 1998, Abb. 86, page 154).

3. 111. "Life of the Buddha (Veneration of the Relics)", mural painting, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Main Temple, Tabo.(After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 136, page 134).

3. 112. Portrait of Taklung Thangpa Chenpo, thangka, distemper on cloth, 47 x 37 cm, *c.*1200 AD, Central Tibet (Taklung monastery). (After Kossack and Singer 1998, fig. 18, page 91).

3. 113. Khusro II, rock relief, Taq-i Bustan, Iran.(After Harper 1981, fig. 18, page 47).

3. 114. Drawing from a wooden coffin/box placed in a tomb, *c.*750 AD, Yarlung dynasty. Delinghe, Qinghai province, China. (After Heller 2003b, fig. 10, page 60).

3. 115. Detail of a mural painting, Entry Hall, late 10th century, Tabo. Photo Courtesy: WHAV (CL94 77, 25).

3. 116. Lay person from Rum, mural painting, 11th century, Ambulatory, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 4, page 26).

3. 117. Mural painting, *c.*11th century, Grongkar, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Photo Courtesy: Lionel Fournier, France.

3. 118. Mural painting, *c.*11th century, Grongkar, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Photo Courtesy: Lionel Fournier, France.

3. 119. Mural painting, *c.*11th century, Grongkar, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Photo Courtesy: Lionel Fournier, France.

3.119a. Photograph of a Tibetan New Year Dress, silk brocade with Chinese-style dragon motifs, 1937, Lhasa. Pitts Rivers Museum, Oxford. PRM 1998.157.95. (After Harris and Shakya 2003, page 9).

3. 119b. Photograph of a Tibetan New Year costume worn by lay officials, 1937, Lhasa. Pitts Rivers Museum, Oxford. PRM 198. 157. 75. (After Harris and Shakya 2003, page 164).

3. 120. Modern men's costume, Ladakh. (After Ahmed 2002, fig. 123, page 117).

3. 121. A detail of the battle scene, *jātaka*, mural painting, cave 17. 5th-6th century, Ajanta, India. (After Behl 1998, page 198).

3. 122. A gatepost from a Sogdian funerary couch, white marble with pigments and gold, height 51.5 cm, width 53.3 cm. 6th century, northern China. Miho Museum, Shiga, Japan. (After Whitfield 2004, page 114).

3. 123. Stone *balbal* of a cupbearer, Kök Turk site, *c.* 8th century. Mongolia. (After Esin 1969, fig. 5A, page 231).

3. 124. A pair of male donors, painted mural, height 80cm, width 140 cm. *c.*500 AD, Panjikent, Sogdia. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation. (After Sims 2002, 46, page 128).

3. 125. Drawing of a nomad men's tunic, Turkestan and Kazakhstan, 19th-20th century. (After Basilev 1989, 3, page 114).

3. 126. Mural depicting Uygur princes, Cave 16, Bezeklik, Xinjiang. 9th century. Museum für Indischen Kunst Berlin, Germany. (After *The Art of Ancient Xinjiang, China* 1994, page 92).

3. 127. Banner depicting a Uygur prince. Painting on ramie, 142.0 x 52.0 cm. Khocho, 9th century. Museum für Indischen Kunst, Berlin, Germany (MIK III 4542). (After Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, fig. 136, page 196).

3. 128. Copy of a mural depicting a falconer, probably 10th century, Iran. Tehran, Iran Bastan Museum. (After Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, fig. 267, page 251).

3. 129. Turkish guards, detail of the costumes, mural, Ghaznavid, 11th century, Lashkari Bazar, Afghanistan. (After Karev 2005, fig. 31, page 74).

3. 130. Drawing of a Ghaznavid mural, detail, 11th century (After Schlumberger et al. 1978, plate 123).

3. 131. Mural of Tokharian donors, 5th-6th century, Cave 8 ("Cave with the Sixteen Swordsmen"), Kizil, Xinjiang. (After Roxburgh 2005, illustration 5, page 50).

3. 132. Clay sculpture, 11th century, Yemar (Iwang). Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Vitali 1990, plate 24).

3. 133. Fragment of a wall painting, 12th century, Seljuq. Now presumed lost. (After Sims 2002, 53, page 39).

3. 134. A princely assembly, fragment of a wall painting, height 71.5 cm, width 71.8 cm. 12th or 13th century, Iran. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (After Sims 2002, 38, page 121).

3. 135. Figures in an interior, fragment of a wall painting, 12th-13th century, Iran. Probably destroyed during the World War II. (After Sims 2002, 101, page 188).

3. 136. Drawing of two warriors, 11th century, Fatimid period, Fustat, Egypt. (*Trésors fatimides du Caire* 1998, fig. 22, page 103).

3. 137. Mural painting, 11th century, north eastern stupa, Tholing, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Namgyel 2001).

3. 138. Mural painting, 11th century, north eastern stupa, Tholing, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Namgyel 2001).

3. 139. Mural painting, 11th century, north eastern stupa, Tholing, Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Namgyel 2001).

3. 140. "Pilgrimage of Sudhana" (Sudhana's visit to the Brahmin Sivaragra), mural painting, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Tabo. Photo Courtesy: WHAV (JP011,61).

3. 141. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*1130 AD. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, fig. 278, plate 61).

3. 142. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*1130 AD. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, fig. 279, plate 62).

3. 143. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*1130 AD. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, colour plate 77, XVII).

3. 144. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.* mid-12th century. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, colour plate 78, XVII).

3. 145. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*11th century. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, colour plate 86, XXI).

3. 146. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*11th century. Western India. (After Nawab 1980-85, colour plate 88, XXII).

3. 147. "Life of the Buddha" (Procession to Lumbini Garden), mural painting, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 131, page 131).

3. 148. Sasanian rock relief depicting boar hunt, detail: costumes of the king and the boat men, 5th-6th century, Taq-i Bustan, Iran. (After Ghirshman 1962, fig. 270, page 227).

3. 149. Sasanian silver plate, king hunting bears. Diameter 21 cm (?), weight 841 gr. Pushkin Museum, Tcherdyne. (After Harper 1981, plate 21, page 222).

3. 150. Detail of the man's costume, The Royal Drinking Scene, Dukhang, Alchi. Photo Courtesy: WHAV (Alchi_D_JP83_8. 5. 1).

3. 151. Ceiling painting on cloth, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 192, page 172).

3. 152. Amoghasiddhi, mural painting, 11th century, Assembly Hall, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 114, page 118).

3. 153. Painting on the dhoti of the gigantic Avalokiteshvara, late 11th-12th century, ground floor, Sumtsek, Alchi. (After Goepper 1997, page 51).

3. 154. *Prajñapāramitā* manuscript, colours on paper, height 6.8 cm, width 7 cm. 11th century, Poo, Kinnaur district, Himachal Pradesh. (After Klimburg-Salter 1998, fig. 13, page 159).

3. 155. *Prajñapāramitā* manuscript, colours on paper, height 6. 8cm, width 7cm. 11th century, Poo, Kinnaur district, Himachal Pradesh. (After Klimburg-Salter 1998, fig. 12, page 159).

3. 156. Sculpture of Avalokiteshvara, brass with copper and silver, height 101.6 cm. 1st half of the 11th century, Guge kingdom, Western Tibet. Pritzker Collection, Chicago. (After Heller 2003a, fig. 4, page 30).

3. 157. Clay Bodhisattvas, 11th century, Yemar (Iwang), Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Vitali 1990, plate 23).

3. 158. Clay Bodhisattvas, 11th century, Yemar (Iwang), Tibet Autonomous Region, China. (After Vitali 1990, plate 25).

3. 159. Painted ceiling panel, Sumtsek, Alchi. (After Yanagi 1985, fig. 1).

3. 160. Glazed tile fragment, *c.*1200, Ghazni, Afghanistan. (After Scerrato 1962, fig. 7, page 275).

3. 161. Glazed tile fragment, *c.*1200, Ghazni, Afghanistan. (After Scerrato 1962, fig. 8, page 275).

3. 162. Tile fragment, *c.*1200, Ghazni, Afghanistan. (After Scerrato 1962, fig. 3, page 274).

3. 163. Tile, *c.*1200, Ghazni, Afghanistan. (After Scerrato 1962, fig. 4, page 274).

3. 164. Textile, silk, *c.*11th century. Ray, Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (accession number T184-1930).Photo Courtesy:Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

3. 165. Textile fragment, *c.* 950-1060 AD. India. (After Barnes 1997, vol. I, plate 17).

3. 166. Textile fragment, *c.* 1020-1200 AD. India. (After Barnes 1997, vol. I, plate 19).

3. 167. Drawing of a sari depicting textile motifs, detail from a painted Jain wooden book-cover, mid-12th century. (After Chandra 1949, fig. 209, plate 90).

3. 168. Illustration of goddess Mahajvala, Jain palm-leaf manuscript 1161 AD. Rajasthan, India. (After Chandra 1949, fig. 27, plate 10).

3. 169. Jain painted wooden manuscript cover, *c.*10th century. Rajasthan, India. (After Nawab 1980-85, colour plate 73, XV).

3. 170. Mahabodhisattva, detail of the dhoti, mural painting, 11th century, Ambulatory, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 177, page 165).

3.171. Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, clay sculpture, 11th century, Cella, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 149, page 148).

3. 172. Mahabodhisattva, detail of the dhoti, mural painting, 11th century, Ambulatory, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 179, page 166).

3. 173. Buddha with Bodhisattvas and royal donors, sculpture of brass with silver; height 36.8 cm. Dated by inscription to 715 AD. India, Jammu and Kashmir; or Pakistan, Gilgit. Pritzker Collection, Chicago. (After Pal 2003, 64, page 109).

3. 174. Cosmic Buddha with royal donors, sculpture of brass with copper, silver and zinc; height 31.1cm. Dated by inscription to 714 AD. India, Jammu and Kashmir, or Pakistan, Gilgit. Asia Society, New York. (After Pal 2003, 63, page 106).

3. 175. Buddha Sakyamuni, metal sculpture, *c*.mid-7th century, Gilgit. Photo Courtesy: Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi, London.

3. 176. Donor detail of the above. Photo by permission of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi, London.

3. 177. Bodhisattvas, manuscript covers, painted wood, height 21 cm, width 5.5 cm, 7th century(?). Gilgit. Institute of Central Asia Studies, University of Kashmir, Srinagar. (After Pal 2007, fig. 107, page 103).

3. 178. Manuscript cover, wood, 7th century (?). Gilgit. (After Klimburg-Salter 1991, fig. 286).

3. 179. Manuscript cover, wood, 7th century (?), Gilgit. (After Klimburg-Salter 1991, fig. 287).

3. 180. Painted manuscript cover for *Samghata sutra*, wood. Length 27 cm, width *c*.8 cm, 7th century, Gilgit. Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (After von Hinüber 2003, fig. 2, page 35).

3. 181. Carvings on rock, 10th century (?). Shey, Ladakh.(After Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977, fig. 5, page 11).

3.192. Detail of *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Queen Maya giving birth to the Buddha, manuscript illustration, *c.*1073 AD, Nalanda, Bihar, eastern India. (After Huntington 1990, plate 58b).

3. 193. Detail of *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Buddha Sakyamuni, manuscript illustration, *c.*1073 AD, Nalanda, Bihar, eastern India. (After Huntington 1990, plate 58b).

3. 194. Scenes from the Buddha's life (detail), manuscript cover, 5.4 x 56.5 cm, 1075-1100 AD, Bihar, eastern India. Los Angeles County Museum, USA. (After Pal 1993, CAT 4A, page 603).

3.195. (top) *Prajñāpāramitā*, detail from Buddhas' life, manuscript folio, 5.4 x 56.2 cm, 1100-1125 AD, Kurkihar, Bihar, eastern India. (After Pal 1993, CAT 5A, page 63).

(middle) *Prajñāpāramitā*, detail from Buddha's life, manuscript folio, 5.4 x 56.2 cm, 1100-1125 AD, Kurkihar, Bihar, eastern India. (After Pal 1993, CAT 5A, page 62).

(lower row) *Prajñāpāramitā*, detail from Buddha's life, manuscript folio, 5.4 x 55.2 cm, 1100-1125 AD, Kurkihar, Bihar, eastern India. (After Pal 1993, CAT 5B, page 62).

3. 196. *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, scenes from Buddha's life, manuscript folio, 6.4 x 54.9 cm, *c.*1150 AD, Bihar, eastern India. Los Angeles County Museum, USA. (After Pal 1993, CAT 6, page 65).

3. 197. Four monks, mural painting, late 10th century, Entry Hall, Main Temple, Tabo. (After Klimburg-Salter 1997, fig. 3, page 25).

3. 198. Goddess, mural painting, 11th century, Mangnang, western Tibet. (After Tucci 1937, fig. 8, page 196).

MAPS

PLANS

Fig 2.1

Fig 2.2

Fig 2.3

Fig 2.4

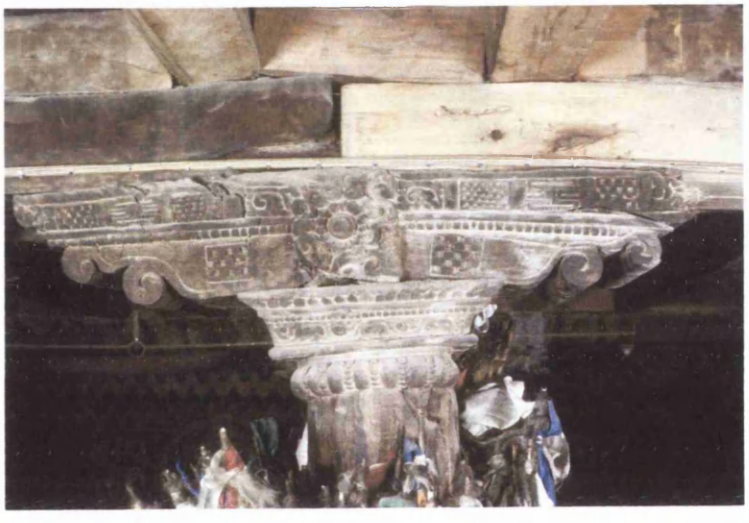


Fig 2.5

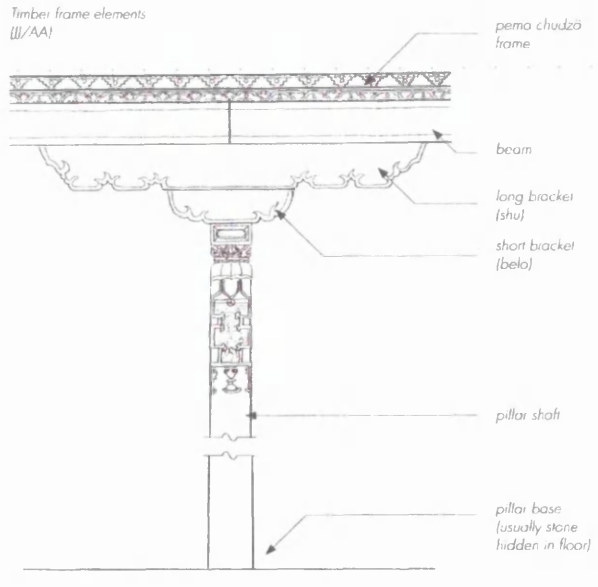


Fig 2.6

Fig 2.7

Fig 2.9

Fig 2.8

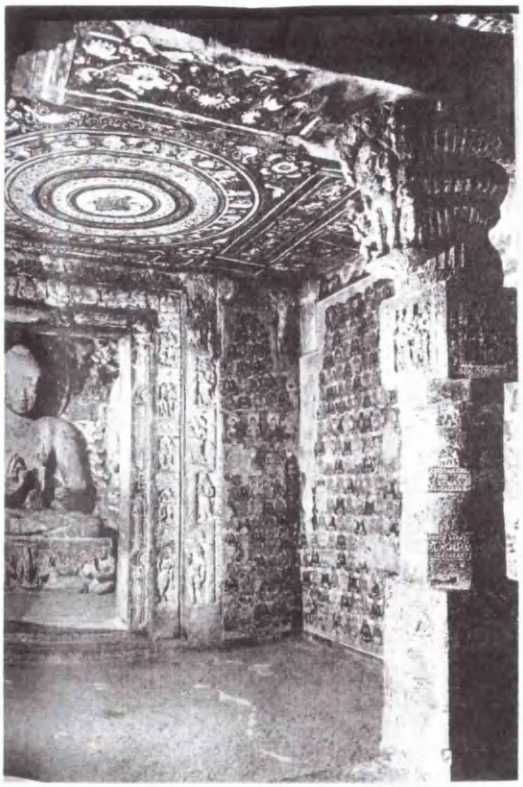


Fig 2.10

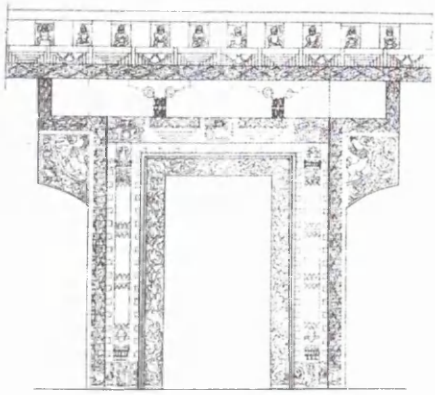


Fig 2.11

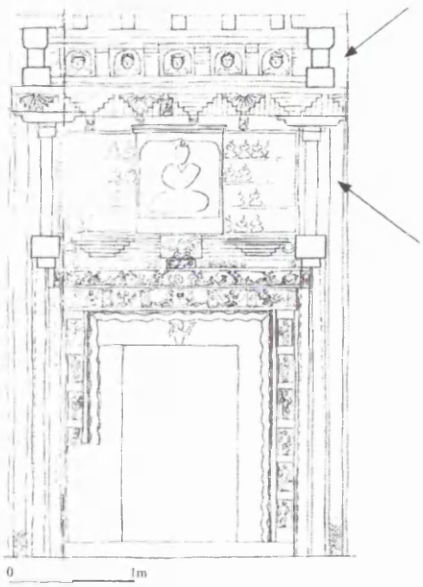


Fig 2.12

Fig 2.13

Fig 2.14

Fig 2.15

Fig 2.16

Fig 2.17

Fig 2.18

Fig 2.19

Fig 2.20

Fig 2.21

Fig 2.22

Fig. 2.23

Fig. 2.24

Fig. 2.25

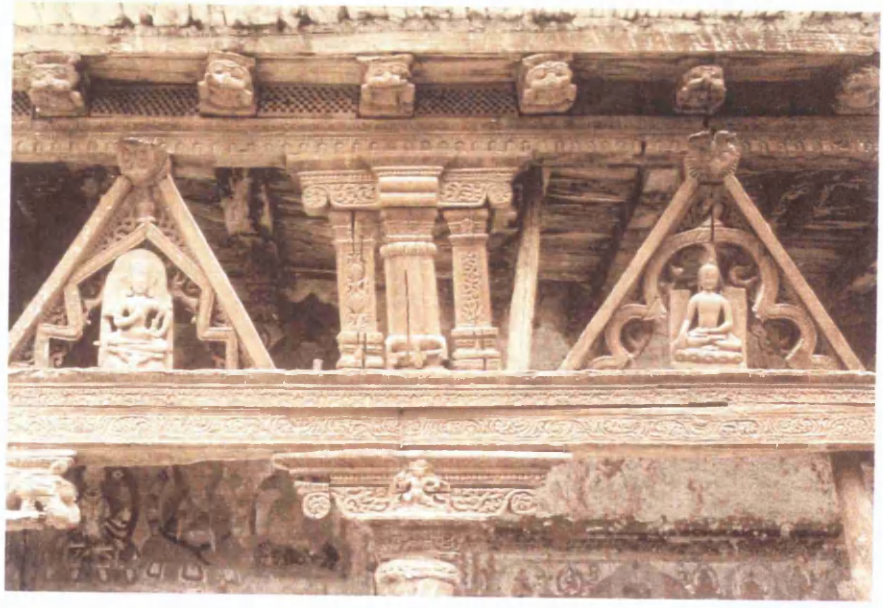


Fig. 2.26

Fig. 2.26a

Fig. 2.27

Fig. 2.28

Fig. 2.29

Fig. 2.30

Fig. 2.31

Fig. 2.32

Fig. 2.33

Fig. 2.34

Fig. 2.35

Fig. 2.36

Fig. 2.37

Fig. 2.38

Fig. 2.39

Fig. 2.40

Fig. 3.1

Fig. 3.2

Fig. 3.3

Fig. 3.4

Fig. 3.5

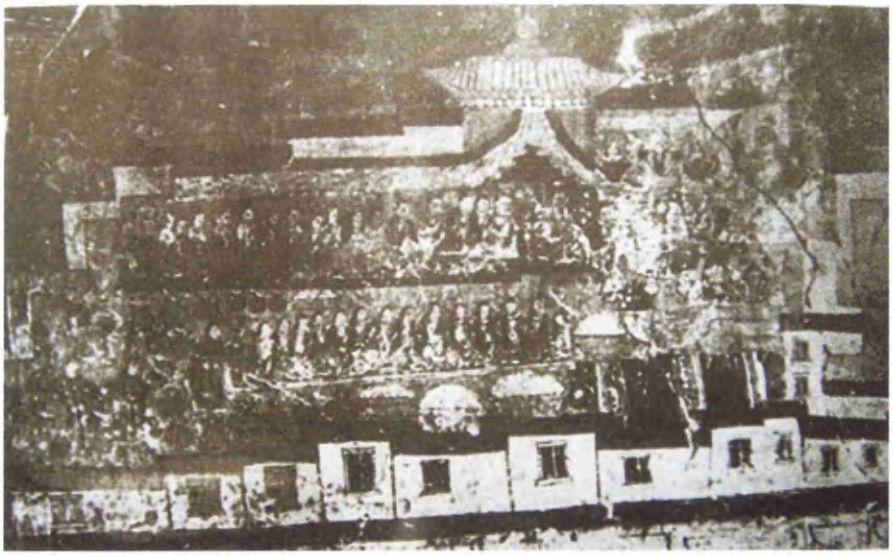


Fig. 3.6

Fig. 3.7

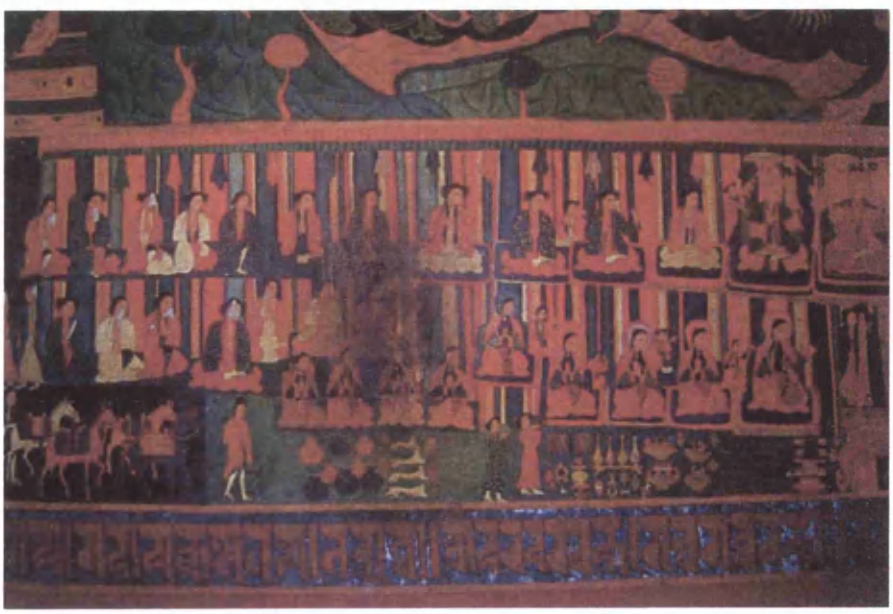


Fig. 3.8

Fig. 3.9

Fig. 3.10

Fig. 3.11

Fig. 3.12

Fig. 3.13

Fig. 3.14

Fig. 3.15

Fig. 3.16

Fig. 3.17

Fig. 3.18

Fig. 3.19

Fig. 3.20

Fig. 3.21

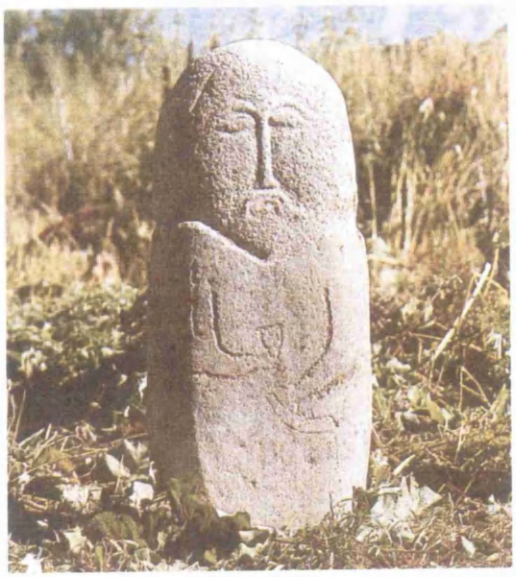


Fig. 3.22

Fig. 3.23

Fig. 3.24

Fig. 3.25

Fig. 3.27

Fig. 3.26

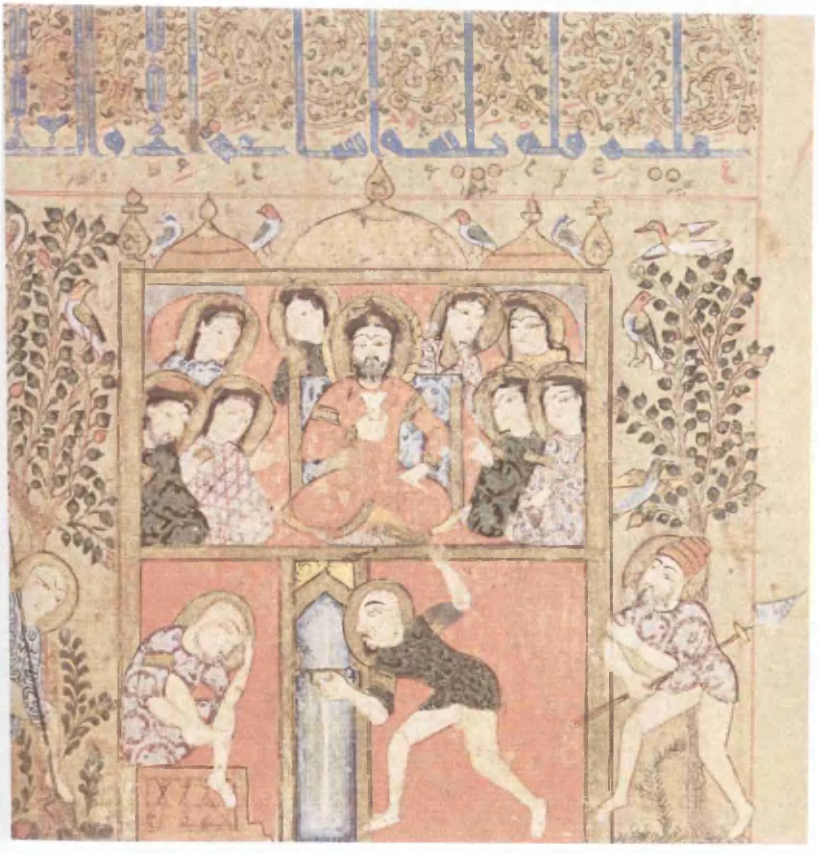


Fig. 3.28

Fig. 3.29

Fig. 3.30

Fig. 3.31

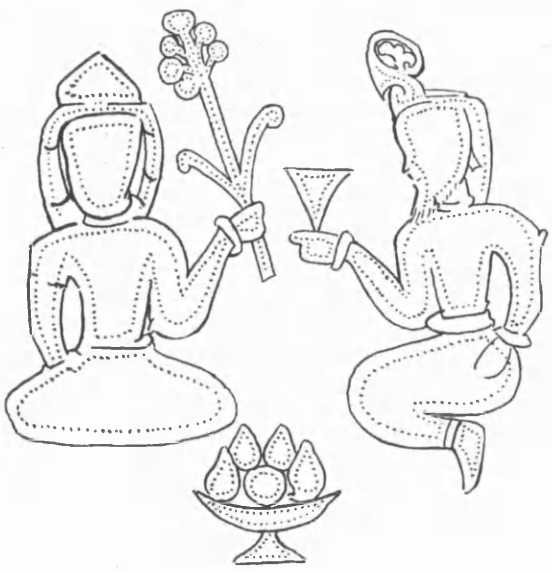


Fig. 3.31

BIBL LONDON UNIV

Fig. 3.32

Fig. 3.33

Fig. 3.35

Fig. 3.34

Fig. 3.36

Fig. 3.37

Fig. 3.38

Fig. 3.39

Fig. 3.40

Fig. 3.41

Fig. 3.43

Fig. 3.42

Fig. 3.44

Fig. 3.45

Fig. 3.46

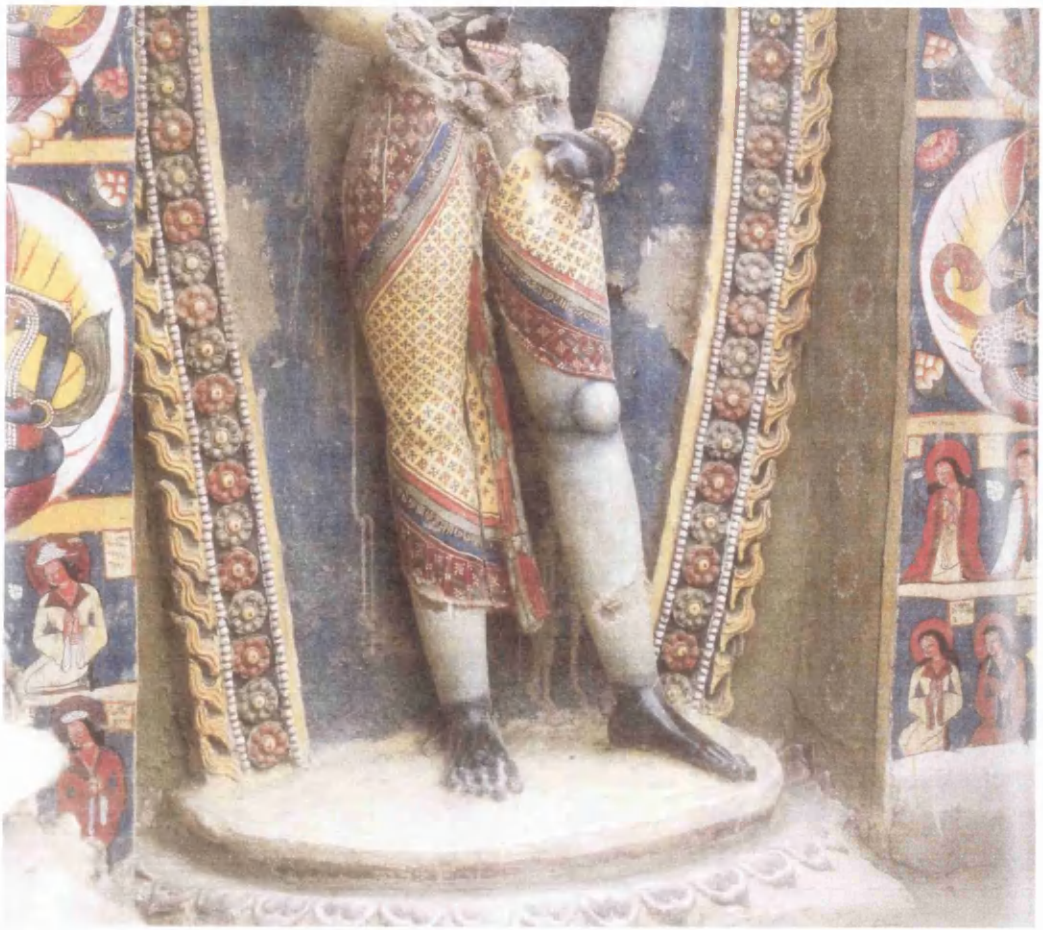


Fig. 3.47

Fig. 3.48

Fig. 3.49

Fig. 3.50

Fig. 3.51

Fig. 3.52

Fig. 3.54

Fig. 3.53

Fig. 3.55

Fig. 3.56

Fig. 3.57

Fig. 3.58

Fig. 3.59

Fig. 3.60

Fig. 3.61

Fig. 3.62

Fig. 3.63

Fig. 3.64

Fig. 3.65

Fig. 3.66

Fig. 3.66

Fig. 3.67

Fig. 3.68

Fig. 3.69

Fig. 3.70

Fig. 3.71

Fig. 3.72

Fig. 3.73

Fig. 3.74

Fig. 3.75

Fig. 3.76

Fig. 3.77

Fig. 3.78

Fig. 3.79

Fig. 3.82

Fig. 3.81

Fig. 3.80

Figs. 3.83

Fig. 3.84

Fig. 3.85

Fig. 3.86

Fig. 3.87

Fig. 3.88

Fig. 3.89

Fig. 3.90

Fig. 3.91

Fig. 3.92

Fig. 3.93

Fig. 3.94

Fig. 3.95

Fig. 3.96

Fig. 3.97

Fig. 3.99

Fig. 3.98

Fig. 3.100

Fig. 3.101

Fig. 3.102

Fig. 3.103

Fig. 3.104

Fig. 3.105

Fig. 3.107

Fig. 3.106

Fig. 3.108

Fig. 3.109

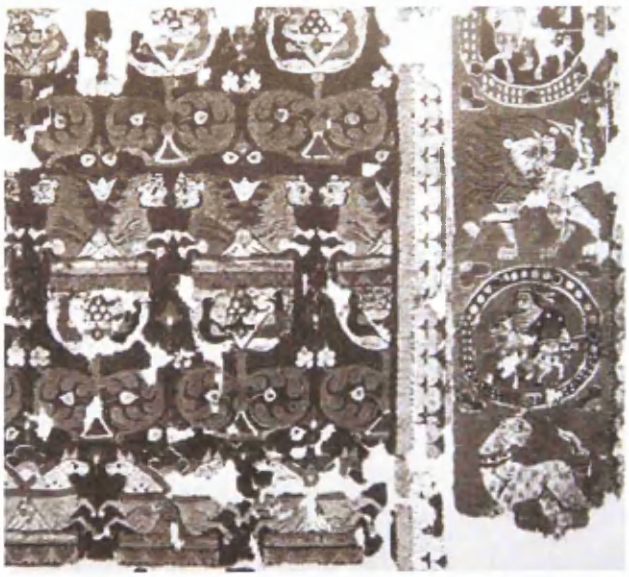


Fig. 3.110

Fig. 3.111

Fig. 3.112

Fig. 3.114

Fig. 3.113

Fig. 3.115

Fig. 3.116

Fig. 3.117

Fig. 3.118

Fig. 3.119

Fig. 3.119a

Fig. 3.120

Fig. 3.119b

Fig. 3.121

Fig. 3.122

Fig. 3.123

Fig. 3.124

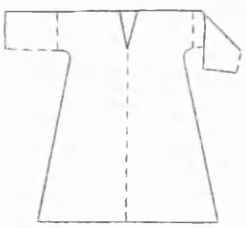


Fig. 3.125

Fig. 3.126

Fig. 3.127

Fig. 3.128

Fig. 3.129

Fig. 3.130

Fig. 3.131

Fig. 3.132

Fig. 3.133

Fig. 3.134

Fig. 3.135

Fig. 3.136

Fig. 3.137

Fig. 3.138

Fig. 3.139

Fig. 3.140

Fig. 3.141

Fig. 3.142

Fig. 3.143

Fig. 3.144

Fig. 3.145

Fig. 3.146

Fig. 3.147

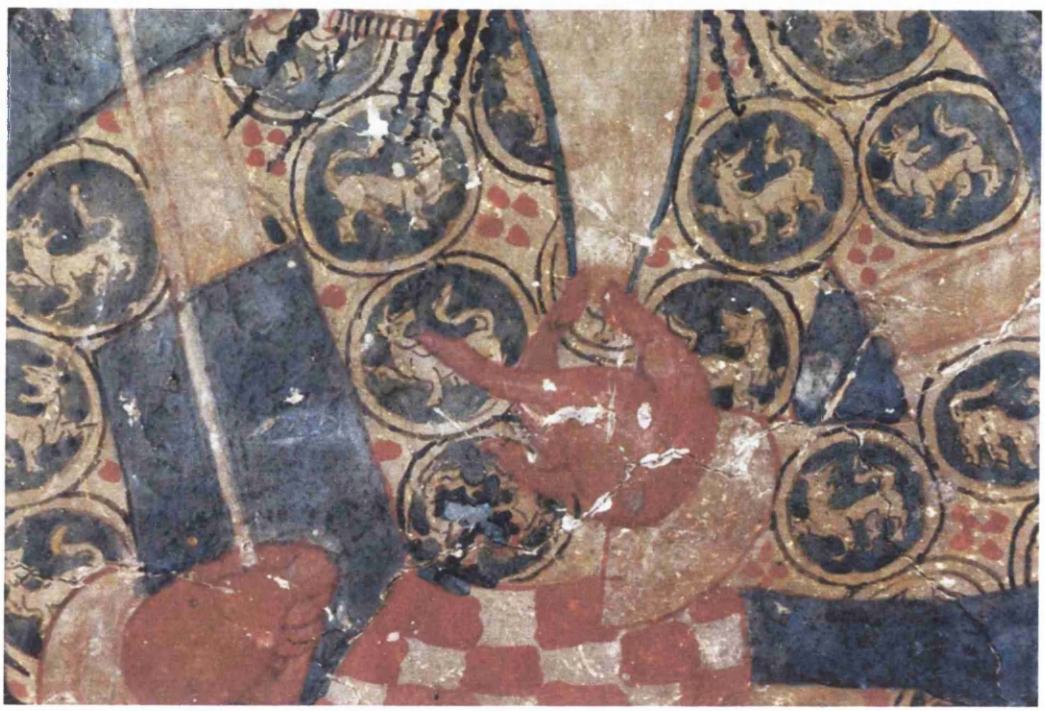


Fig. 3.148

Fig. 3.149

Fig. 3.150

Fig. 3.151

Fig. 3.152

Fig. 3.153

Fig. 3.154

Fig. 3.155

Fig. 3.156

Fig. 3.157

Fig. 3.158

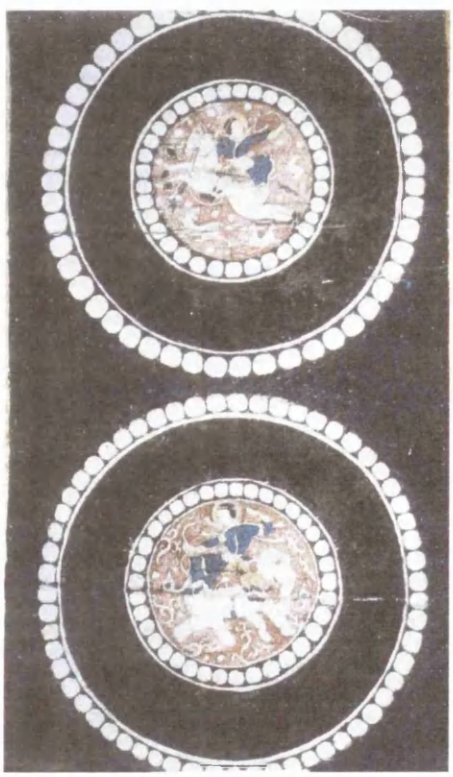


Fig. 3.159

Fig. 3.160

Fig. 3 .162

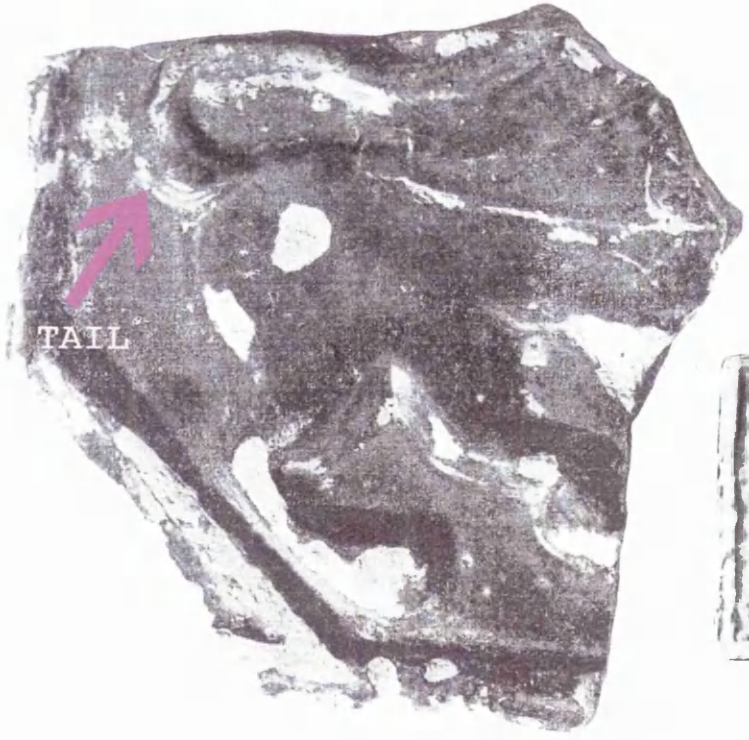


Fig. 3.161

Fig. 3.163

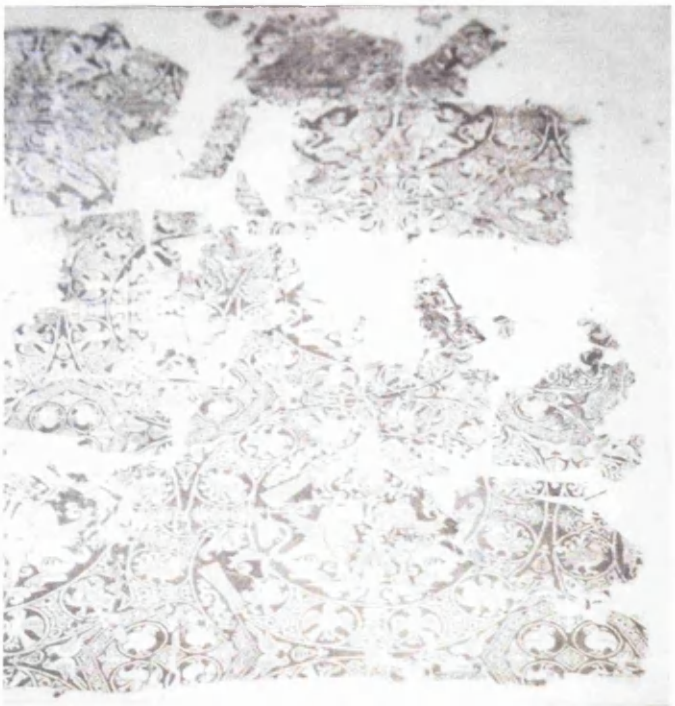


Fig. 3.164

Fig. 3.167

Fig. 3.165

Fig. 3.166

Fig. 3.168

Fig. 3.169

Fig. 3.172

Fig. 3.171

Fig. 3.170

Fig. 3.173

Fig. 3.174

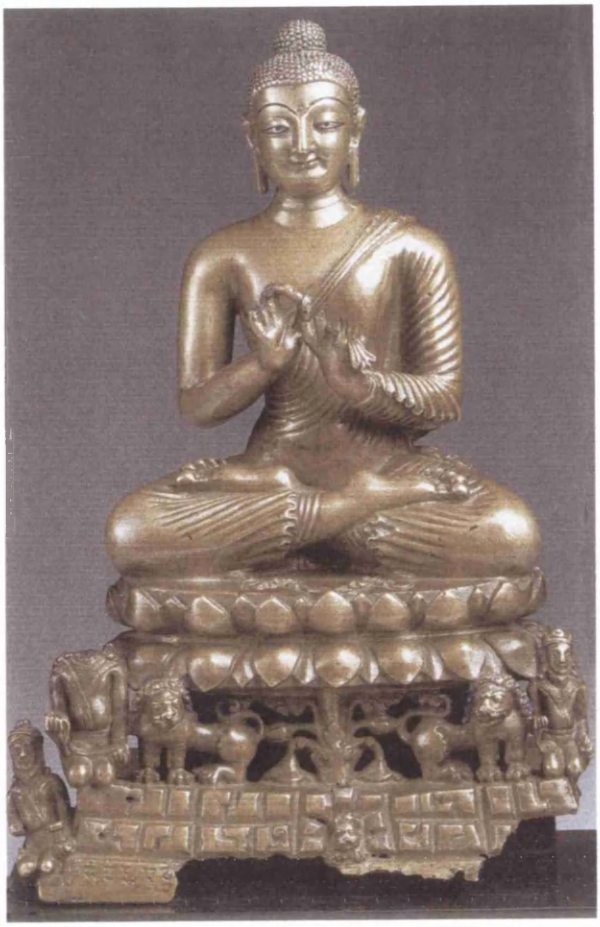


Fig. 3.175

Fig. 3.176

Fig. 3.177

Fig. 3.178

Fig. 3.179

Fig. 3.180

Fig. 3.181

Fig. 3.182

Fig. 3.183

Fig. 3.184

Fig. 3.185

Fig. 3.186

Fig. 3.187

Fig. 3.188

Fig. 3.189

Fig. 3.190

Figs. 3.191

Fig. 3.192

Fig. 3.193

Fig. 3.194

Figs. 3.195

Figs. 3.196

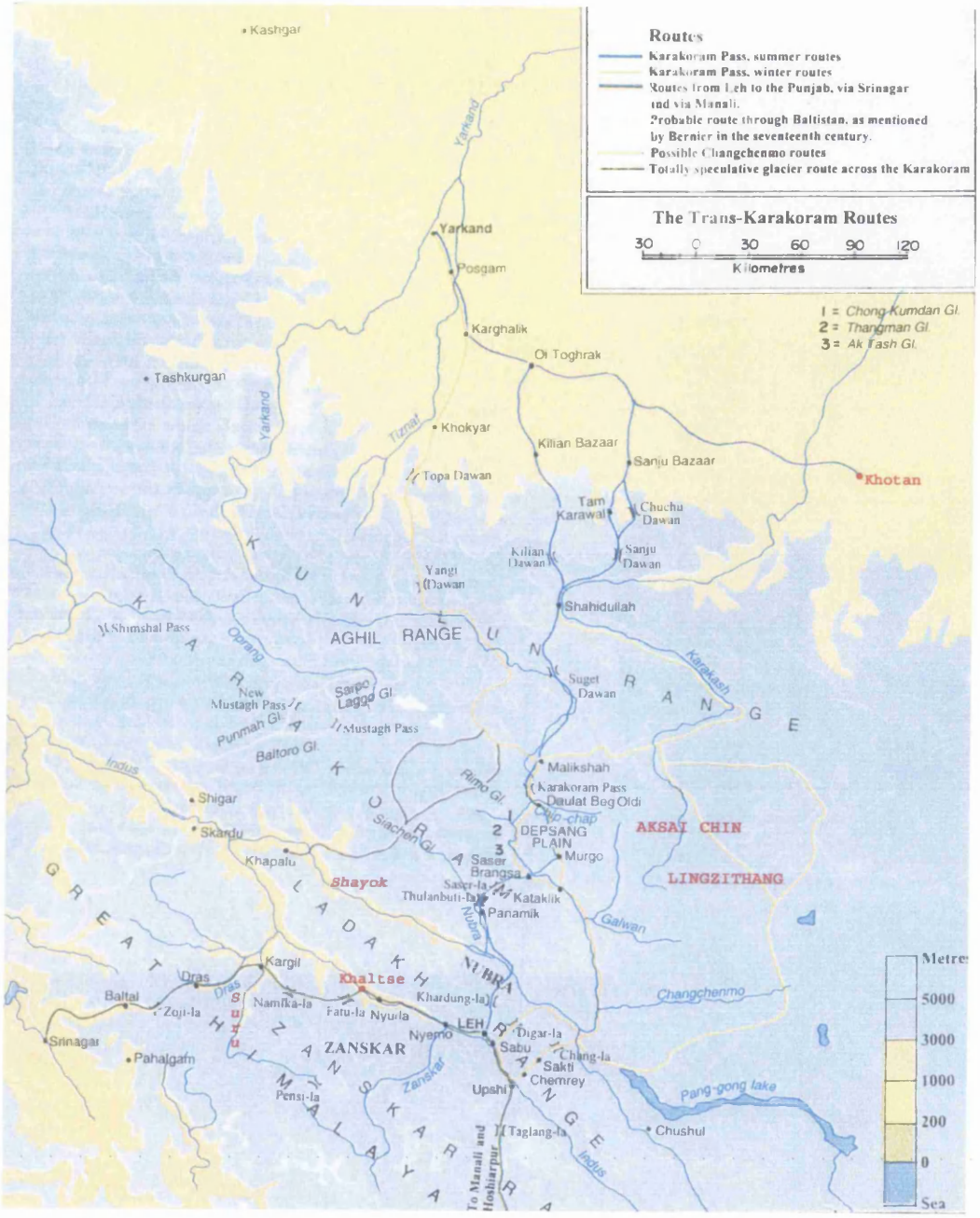
Fig. 3.197

Fig. 3.198

Fig. 3.199

Fig. 3.200

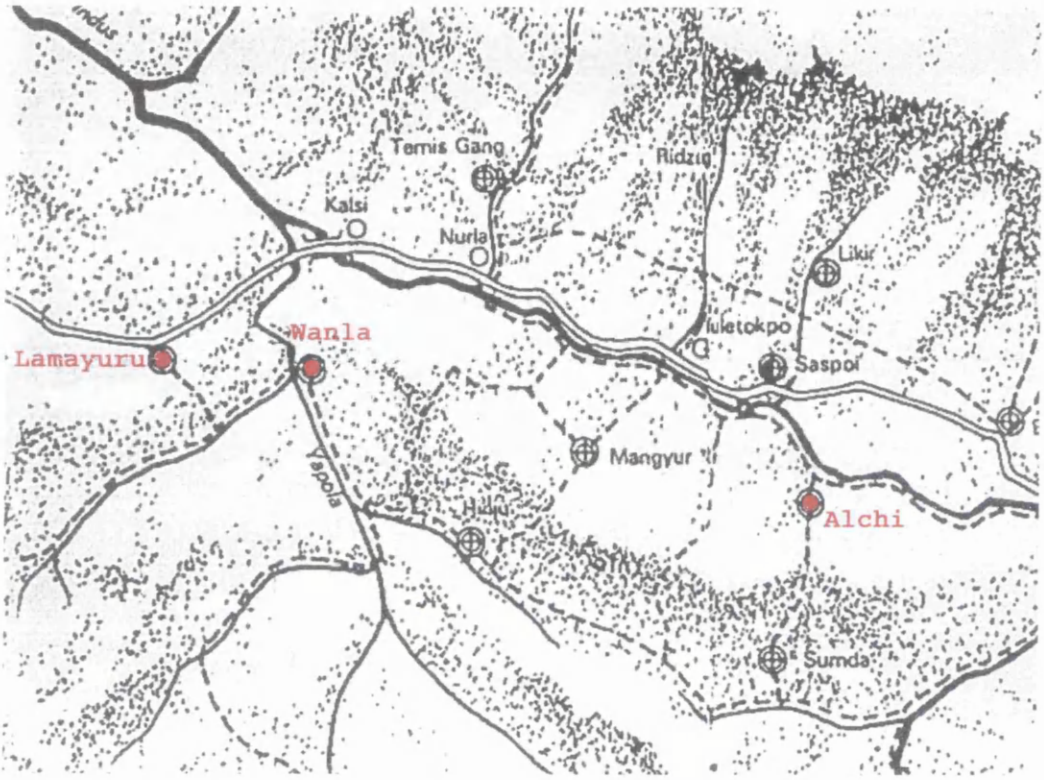
Fig. 3.201


Routes
Karakoram Pass, summer routes
Karakoram Pass, winter routes
Routes from Leh to the Punjab, via Srinagar and via Manali.
Probable route through Baltistan, as mentioned by Bernier in the seventeenth century.
Possible Changchenmo routes
Totally speculative glacier route across the Karakoram
The Trans-Karakoram Routes
30 0 30 60 90 120
Kilometres
1 = Chong-Kumdan Gl.
2 = Thangman Gl.
3 = Ak Tash Gl.
Kashgar
Yarkand
Posgam
Karghalik
Oi Toghrak
Tashkurgan
Khokyar
Kilian Bazaar
Sanju Bazaar
Khotan
Topa Dawan
Tam Karawal
Chuchu Dawan
Kilian Dawan
Sanju Dawan
Yangi Dawan
Shahidullah
Shimshal Pass
AGHIL RANGE
Oprang
New Mustagh Pass
Punmah Gl.
Sarpo Lagpo Gl.
Mustagh Pass
Baltoro Gl.
Suget Dawan
Karakash
Malikshah
Karakoram Pass
Daulat Beg Oldi
Rimo Gl.
Indus
Shigar
Skardu
Siachen Gl.
DEPSANG PLAIN
AKSAI CHIN
Khapalu
Shayok
Saser Brangsa
Murgo
LINGZITHANG
Thulanbuti-la
Kataklik
Panamik
Nubra
Galwan
Kargil
Khaltse
Dras
Baltal
Zoji-la
Namika-la
Fatu-la
Nyurla
Khardung-la
Changchenmo
LEH
Nyemo
Digar-la
Sabu
Chang-la
Sakti
Chemrey
Srinagar
Pahalgam
ZANSKAR
Pensi-la
Zanskar
Upshi
Pang-gong lake
Taglang-la
Chushul
To Manali and Hoshiarpur
Indus
Metres
5000
3000
1000
200
0
Sea

Map 1


KARAKORAM MTS
K U N
Indus R.
KASHMIR
Likir
Saspol
Mangyu
Basgo
Lamayuru
Alchi
Phyang
Mulbek
Sumda
Leh
Spituk
Shey
LADAKH
Tiktse
Nyarma
Hemis
Karsha
Sani
Phugtal
ZANGSKAR
SPITI
Indus R.
Dharamsala
Mani
Tabo
NGARI
Spiti R.
Luk
Gartok
HIMACHAL PRADESH
Tsaparang
Tholing
Mangnang.
Sutlej R.
GUGE
Mt. Kailash (T. G
Lake Rakshas Tal
(T. Lhanag Tso)
Lake Manasa
(Manasa; T. M

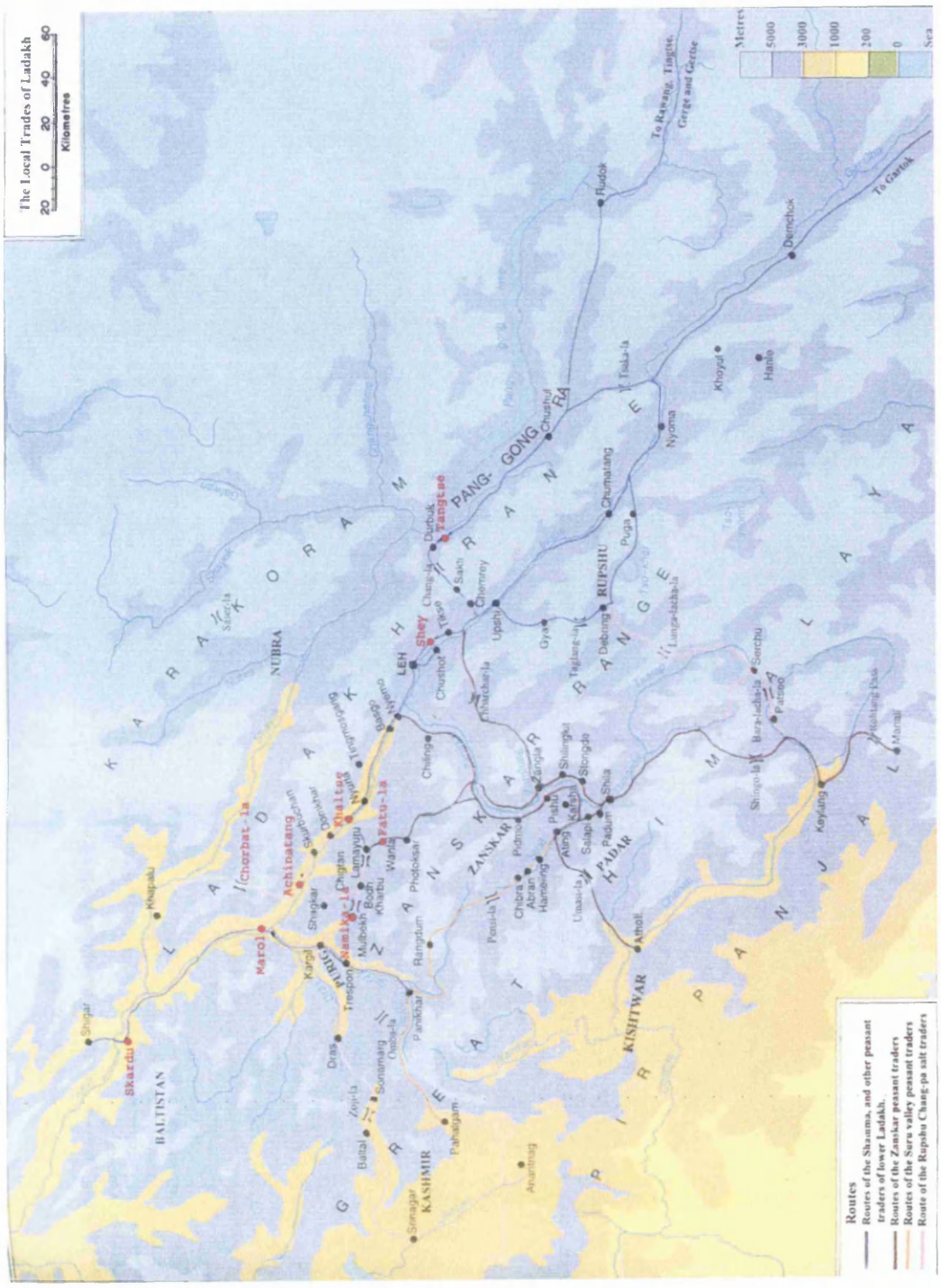
Map 1A


Indus
Ternis Gang
Ridzig
Kalsi
Nurla
Likir
Wanla
Lamayuru
Tuletokpo
Saspol
Mangyur
Yapola
Alchi
Sumda

Map 1B

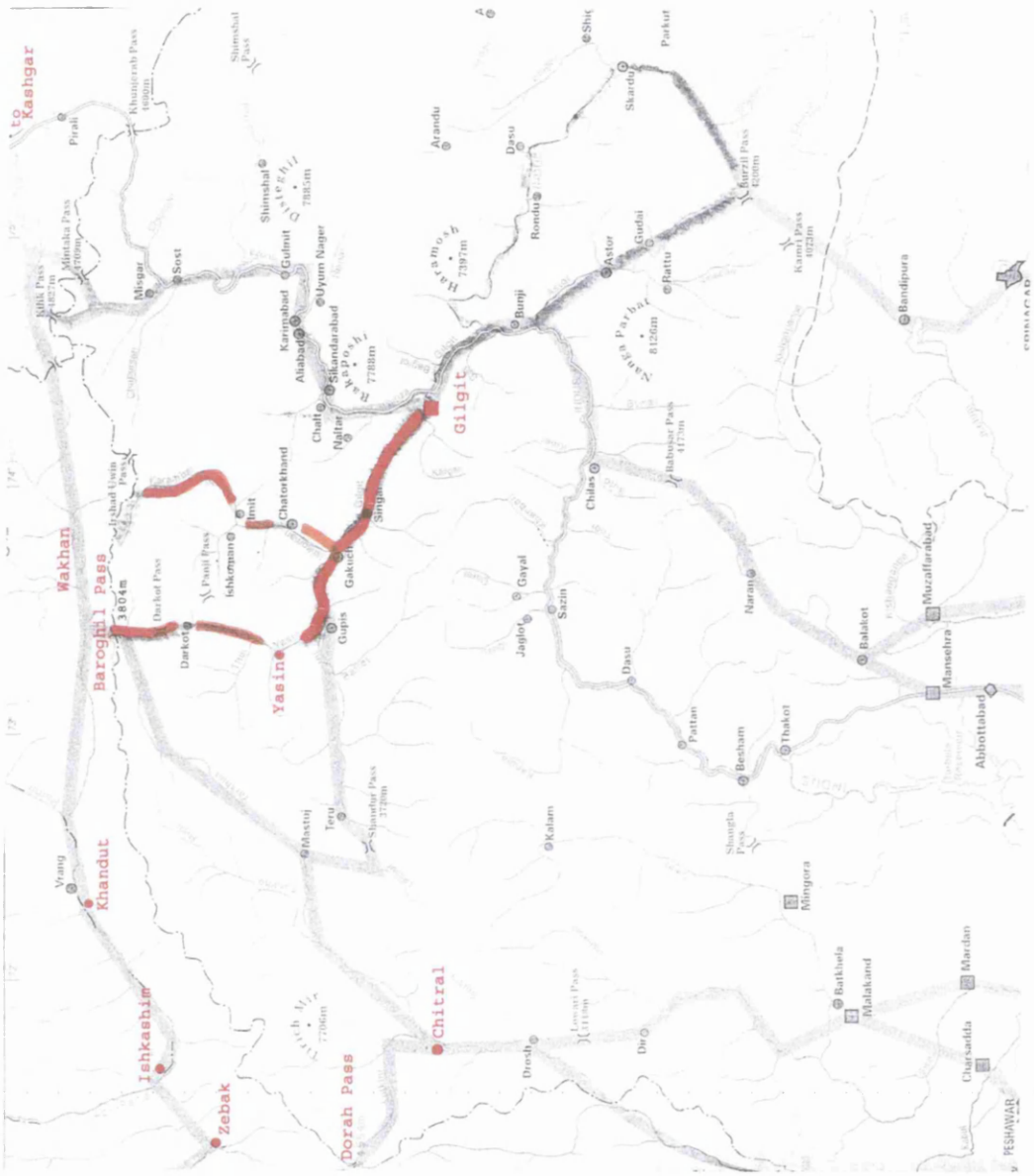

Kashgar
Yarkand
Karghalik
Oi-Toghrak
PAMIRS
Tashkurgan
HINDU KUSH
WAKHAN
Kilik Pass
Mintaka Pass
Baroghil Pass
Darkot P
Ishkoman P
Khunjerab Pass
CHITRAL
GILGIT
Shimshal Pass
KARAKORAM
AGHIL RANGE
New Mustagh P
Old Mustagh P
Rimo Gl
Karakoram Pass
Kilian Bazaar
Sanju Bazaar
Khotan
Tam Karawal
Kilian Pass
Sanju Pass
Shahidullah
Suget P
KUNLUN
Karakash
Chitral
Gilgit
Lowarai Pass
Malakand Pass
Indus
Skardu
Khapalu
Siachen Glacier
Saser-la
Nubra
BALTISTAN
Shyok R
LADAKH RANGE
Panamik
Shyok
Kabul
Muzaffarabad
Zoji-la
Dras
Kargil
Khardung-la
Namika-la
Fatu-la
LEH
Baramulla
Srinagar
Zanskar
Changla
Pang-gong Lake
Peshawar
KASHMIR
Pensi-la
ZANSKAR RANGE
Upshi
Taglang-la
Chushul
PANG-GONG RANGE
Murree
PIR PANJAL
Padum
Rudok
Rawalpindi
KISHTWAR HIMALAYA
Lunga-lacha-la
Shingo-la
Patseo
Hanle
Demchok
Tashigang
Jammu
Chenab
LAHUL
SPITI
Keylang
Bara-lacha-la
Rohtang Pass
Nurpur
Manali
Pathankot
Palampur
KULU
Shipki-la
PUNJAB
Bhuntar
KANGRA
Rawalsar
Mandi
Chini
KINNAUR
Tsaparang
Amritsar
Hoshiarpur
Rampur
Lahore
Bias
Sutlej
Kotgarh
Daba
Mana Pass
Shimla
GARHWAL
Niti Pass
Kalka
Jhelum

Map 2

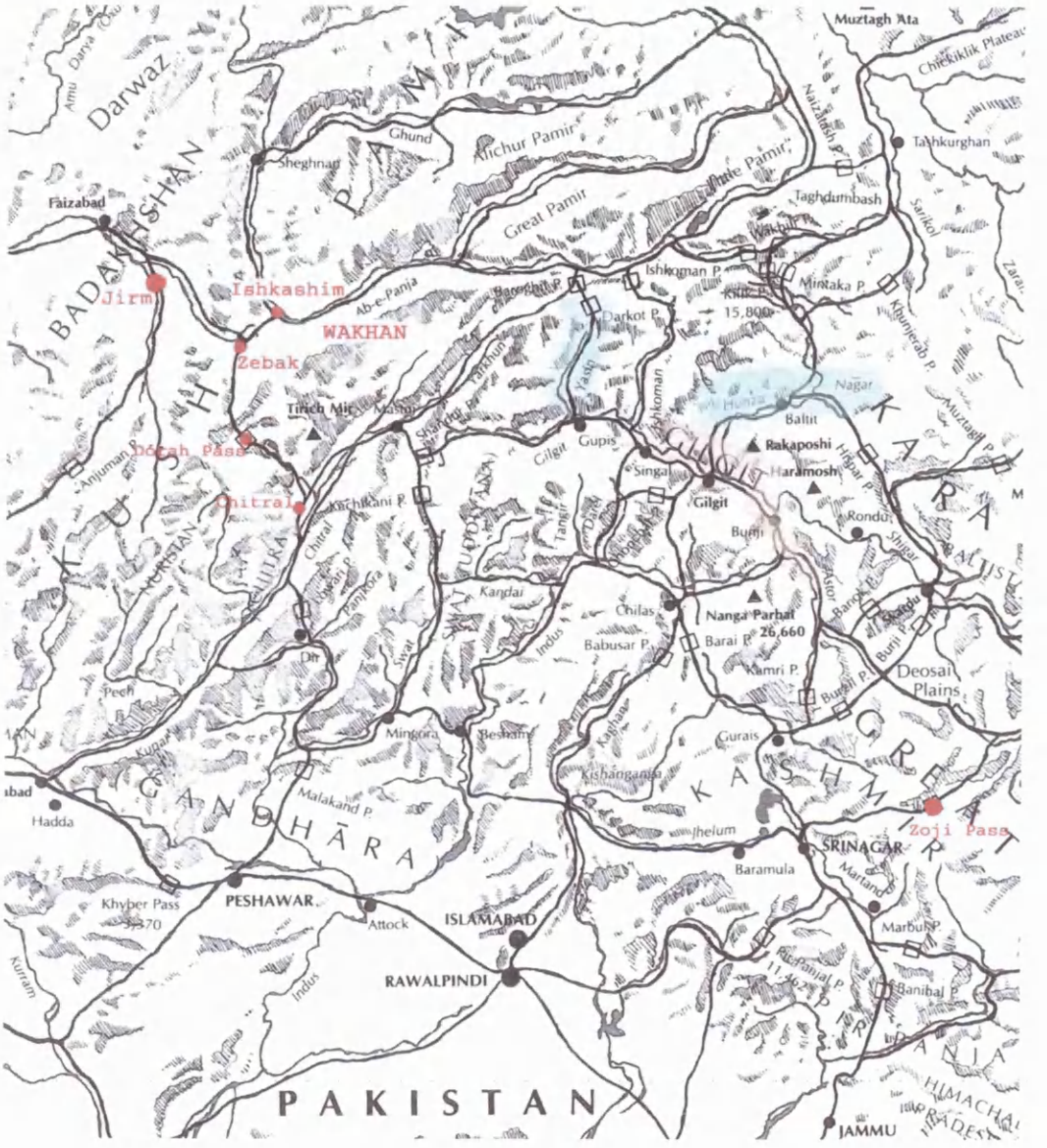

The Local Trades of Ladakh
Kilometres
Routes
Routes of the Shamma, and other peasant traders of lower Ladakh.
Routes of the Zanskar peasant traders
Routes of the Suru valley peasant traders
Route of the Rupshu Chang-pa salt traders
Metres
Sea
LADAKH
ZANSKAR
KARAKORAM
NUBRA
RUPSHU
PANG-GONG
CHANGTHANG
PLATEAU
LAHAUL
SPITI
PADAR
KISHTWAR
BALTISTAN
KASHMIR
Skardu
Shigar
Khapalu
Kargil
Karoi
Achinatang
Khaltse
Namika-la
Fotu-la
Lamayuru
Wanla
Photoksar
Rangdum
Penzi-la
Pishu
Kaksar
Padum
Shila
Shingo-la
Barala-la
Sarchu
Patseo
Keylang
Manali
Athol
Umasi-la
Salapi
Stongde
Shilingka
Zangla
Chilling
Nimmo
LEH
Shey
Tangtse
Durbuk
Chang-la
Saspo
Saspul
Chemrey
Upshi
Chushot
Chushul
Rudok
Demchok
To Rawang, Tingtse, Gerge and Gertse
To Gartok
Nyoma
Khoyul
Hanle
Puga
Chumatang
Gya
Debring
Taglang-la
Lunglacha-la
Taksa-la
Parfi-la
Nakpo-la
Kiagar-la
Drass
Zoji-la
Sonamarg
Batal
Panikhar
Parkatam
Srinagar
Anantnag
Chiktan
Dorjungkar
Sumdochenam
Tisspong
Mulbekh
Khartse
Lamayuru
Nyma
Tisspong
Trespon
Dras
Sonamarg
Chiktan
Pishu
Kaksar
Padum
Shila
Stongde
Shilingka
Zangla
Chilling
Nimmo
Saspo
Saspul
Chemrey
Upshi
Chushot
Durbuk
Tangtse
Chang-la
Rudok
Demchok
Nyoma
Khoyul
Hanle
Puga
Chumatang
Gya
Debring
Taglang-la
Lunglacha-la
Taksa-la
Sorchu
Patseo
Barala-la
Shingo-la
Keylang
Manali
Athol
Umasi-la
Salapi
Aling
Padum
Shila
Stongde
Shilingka
Zangla
Chilling
Nimmo
LEH
Shey
Tangtse
Durbuk
Chang-la
Saspo
Saspul
Chemrey
Upshi
Chushot
Chushul


GOBI
TURKIC AND UIGHUR EMPIRES
HEXI CORRIDOR
LOP DESERT
ALTUN SHAN
TSAIDAM
KRORAINA
DESERT
TAKLAMAKAN
KHOTAN
TIBETAN EMPIRE
FERGHANA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
GANDHARA
TAKHAN
Beijing
Dunhuang
Anxi
Yumen
Jiuquan
Turfan
Astana
Yiwu/ Hami
Urumqi
Loulan
Miran
Endere
Cherchen
Aksu
Tumshuq
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Tashkent
Khokand
Penjikent
Samarkand
Termez
Balkh
Kabul
Peshawar
Lahore
Lhasa
Lake Balkash
Issyk Kul
Syr-daria (Jaxartes)
Indus
Ganges

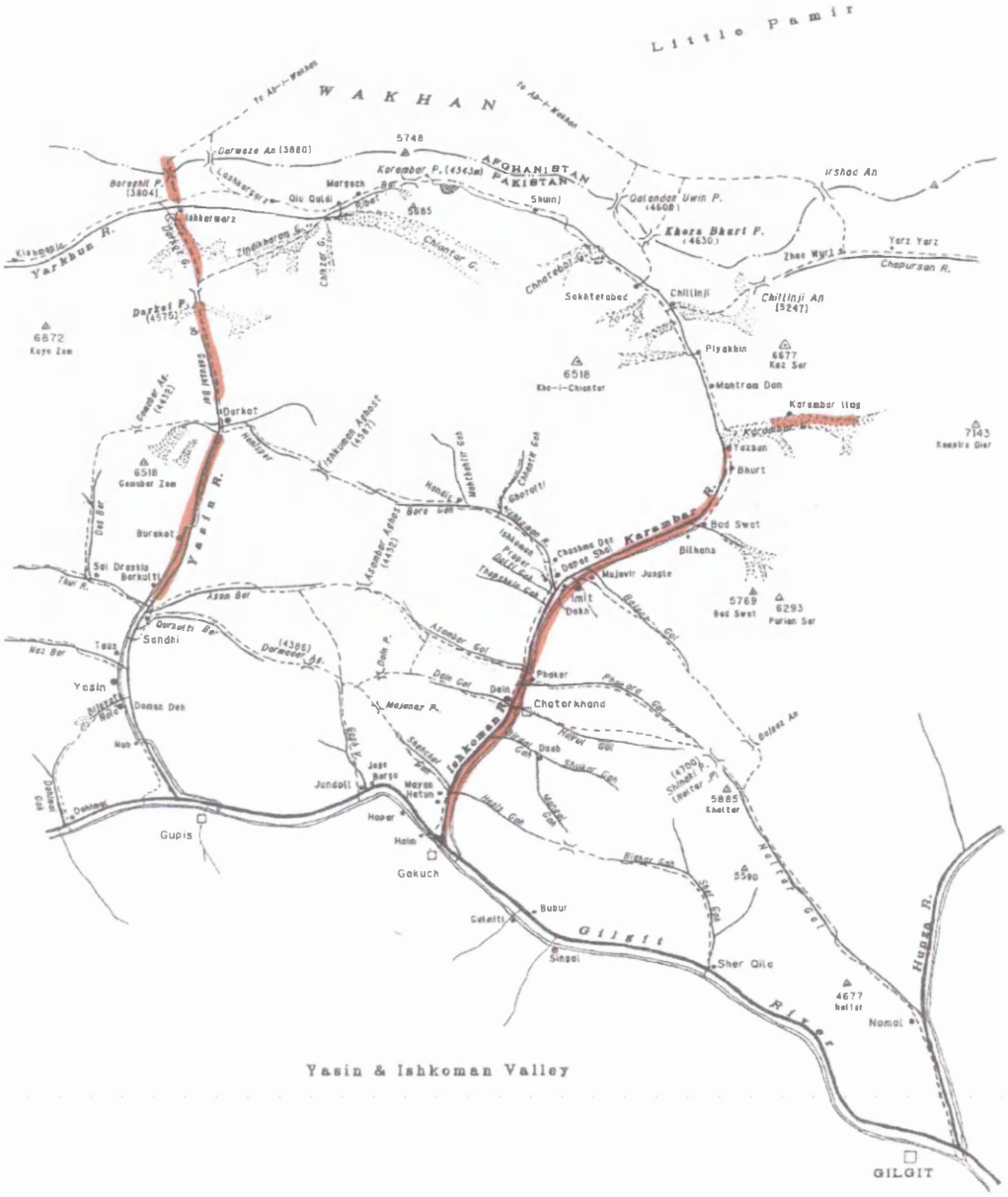
Map 4


to Kashgar
Wakhan
Baroghil Pass
Yasin
Gilgit
Chitral
Ishkashim
Zebak
Dorah Pass
Khandut
Darkot
Gupis
Gakuch
Singal
Chatorkhand
Imit
Ishkoman
Sost
Misgar
Gulmit
Karimabad
Aliabad
Hunza
Chalt
Nalter
Skardu
Astor
Gudai
Rattu
Bunji
Dasu
Arandu
Jaglot
Gayal
Sazin
Chilas
Naran
Balakot
Mansehra
Muzaffarabad
Abbottabad
Thakot
Besham
Pattan
Dasu
Kalam
Mastuj
Terich Mir
Shandur Pass
Lowari Pass
Dir
Drosh
Mingora
Shangla Pass
Batkhela
Malakand
Mardan
Charsadda
PESHAWAR
Babusar Pass
Kamri Pass
Bandipura
Parkut
Shimshal Pass
Khunjerab Pass
Mintaka Pass
Kilik Pass
Darkot Pass
Pamir Pass
Shimshal
Gulmit
Uyun Nagar
Sikandarabad
Rakaposhi
Haramosh
Nanga Parbat
Burzil Pass

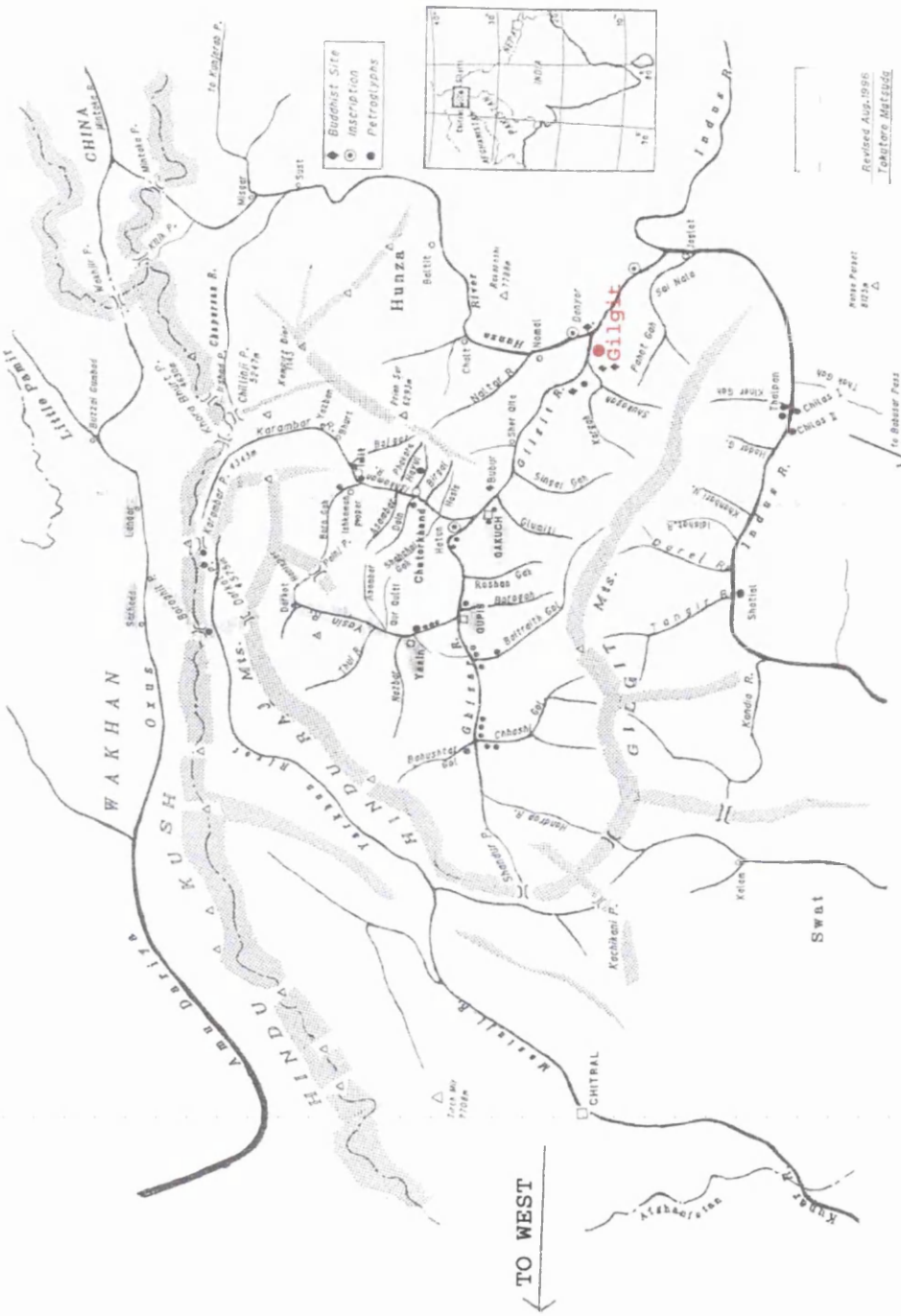
Map 5


Muztagh Ata
Darwaz
Ghund
Sheghnan
Faizabad
Jirm
Ishkashim
WAKHAN
Zebak
Tirich Mir
Chitral
Kachikani P.
Darkot P.
Ishkoman P.
Mintaka P.
Taghdumbash
Tashkurghan
Great Pamir
Gilgit
Gupis
Singal
Baltit
Rakaposhi
Haramosh
Nagar
Rondu
Burji
Kargai
Chilas
Nanga Parbat
26,660
Babusar P.
Barai P.
Kamri P.
Deosai Plains
Mingora
Besham
Gurais
Kishanganga
Malakand P.
Hadda
Khyber Pass
3,370
PESHAWAR
Attock
ISLAMABAD
RAWALPINDI
Jhelum
SRINAGAR
Baramula
Zoji Pass
Marbul P.
Banihal P.
Indus
Kurram
PAKISTAN
JAMMU

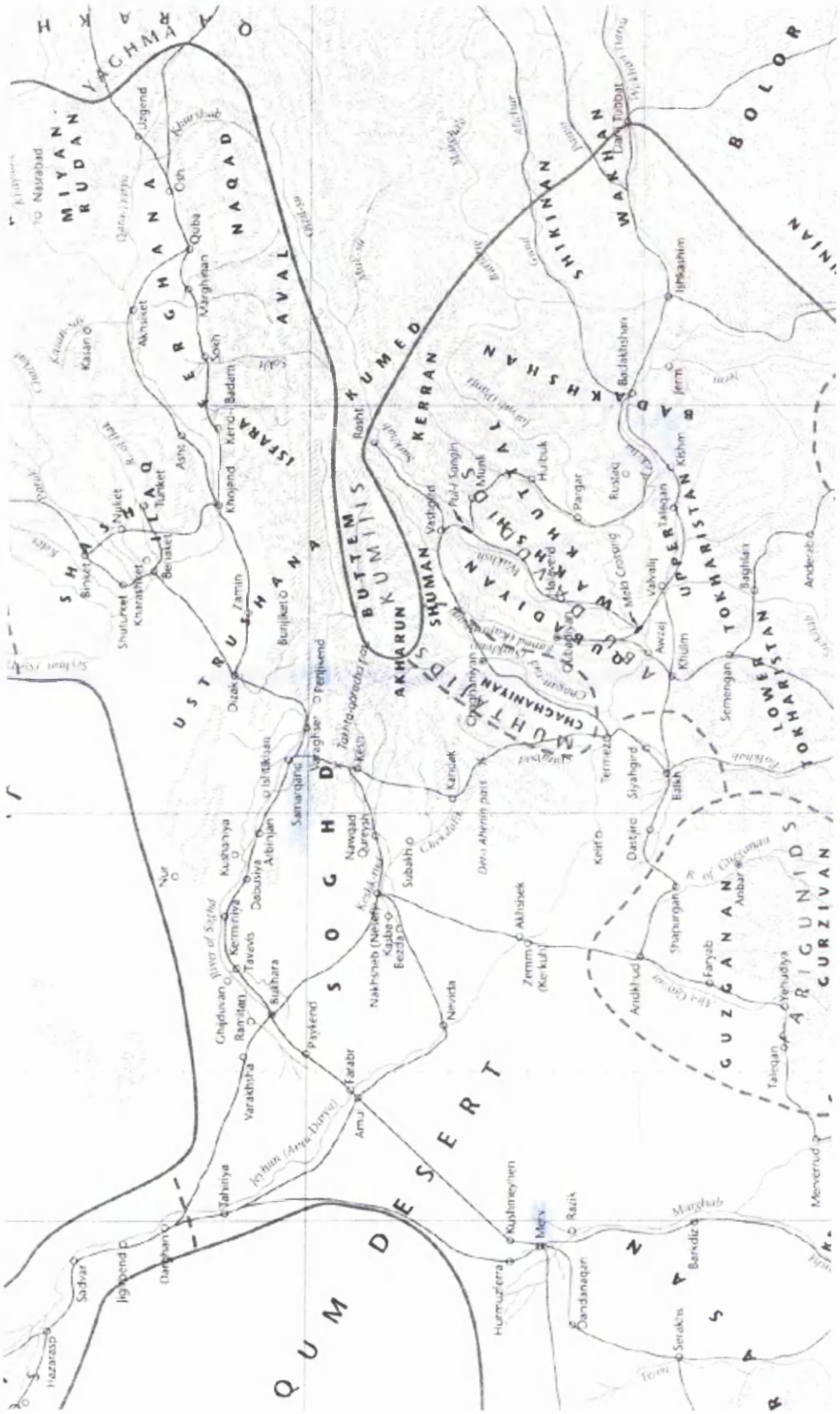
Map 6


Little Pamir
WAKHAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
Darwaza An (3880)
5748
Karambar P. (4343m)
Shuni
Irshad An
Khora Bhort P. (4630)
Yarz Yarz
Chapursan R.
Chillinji
Chillinji An (5247)
Sekaterabed
Darkot P. (4575)
6872
Koyo Zom
6518
Kho-i-Chianter
6877
Koz Ser
Piyakhin
Mohtrom Don
Karambar Ilag
7143
Koyaltre Dior
Darkot
Yazban
Bhurt
6518
Gemuber Zom
Yasin R.
Karambar R.
Bod Swat
Bilhana
Burekot
Sel Draskia
Berkutti
Mujavir Jungle
Imit
Deka
5769
Bod Swat
6293
Purian Ser
Sandhi
Yasin
Phoker
Chaterkhand
Ishkoman R.
Gupis
Jundoli
Hoper
Hoim
Gakuch
5885
Kwoter
5590
Bubur
Gulatti
Singal
Gilgit
River
Sher Qila
4677
Nomal
Hunza R.
GILGIT
Yasin & Ishkoman Valley

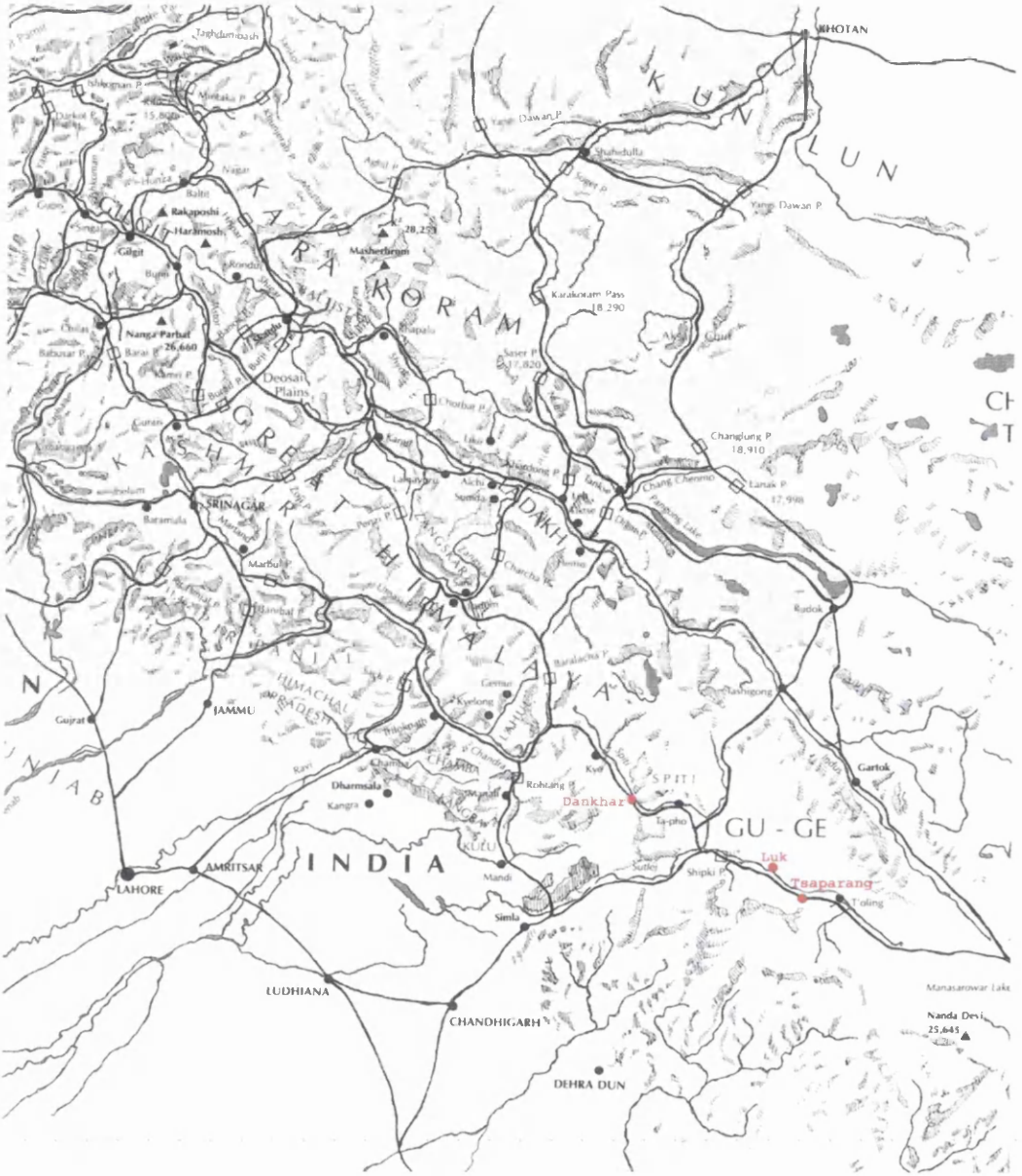
Map 7


Buddhist Site
Inscription
Petroglyphs
Gilgit
TO KASHMIR
TO WEST
WAKHAN
HINDU KUSH
Hunza
Swat
CHITRAL
CHINA
Revised Aug. 1996
Tokutoro Matsuda

Map 8


QUM DESERT
SOGHD
KUMIS
BUTTEMIS
AKHARUN
SHUMAN
KERRAN
KUMED
ISFARA
USTRUSHANA
NAQAD
AVAL
SHAHRISTAN
SHAHRISTAN
MIYAN RUDAN
YAGHMA
SHIKINAN
WAKHAN
BADAKHSHAN
BOLOR
MOUNTAINS
CHACHANIYAN
MOUNTAINS
ARGUNIDS
GUZGANAN
TOKHARISTAN
UPPER TOKHARISTAN
LOWER TOKHARISTAN
GURZIVAN
Nasrabad
Jegend
Osh
Quba
Marghinan
Akhsiket
Kasan
Khojend
Kerd
Badam
Asht
Turiket
Binaket
Kharashket
Shutukket
Zamin
Dzak
Penjkend
Bunjiket
Samarqand
Nur
Kushaniya
Kerminiya
Dasutiya
Abinjan
Nawgad
Qureyh
Subash
Kabud
Beeza
Nakhshab (Nesef)
Chaduvan
Ramitan
Tavets
Bukhara
Varakhsha
Paykend
Nevida
Tarabr
Amul
Jeyhun (Amu Darya)
Tahiriya
Dargan
Sadvar
Jegend
Hazarasp
Kushmeyhen
Mery
Razik
Hummuzfera
Marghab
Bandiz
Sandanaqan
Serakhs
Meverud
Taleqan
Andkhud
Fariyab
Shabarqan
Anbar
Dehdadiya
Keliff
Dastjird
Siyahgird
Balkh
Termez
Jarkuduk
Kanjak
Chardzhui
Deve Ahemin pass
Chachanian pass
Tirmiz
Vakhsh
Vakhsh
Awjel
Khulm
Mele Crossing
Vahalj
Baghlan
Andereb
Semengan
Pargar
Rustaq
Taleqan
Kishm
Jerm
Ishkashim
Badakhshan
Hufbuk
Munk
Rud-i Sangin
Yazgulyam
Rasht
Kaniyan
Qaratigin
Darband
Khuttal
Kulab
Kurgan-Tyube
Qabadian
Wakhsh
Vakhsh
Panj
Amu Darya
Kafirnigan
Surkhan Darya
Qashqa Darya
Zarafshan
Kuvasay
Ferghana
Aksiket
Marghinan
Osh
Jegend
Quba
Khojend
Kerd
Badam
Asht
Turiket
Binaket
Kharashket
Shutukket
Zamin
Dzak
Penjkend
Bunjiket
Samarqand
Nur
Kushaniya
Kerminiya
Dasutiya
Abinjan
Nawgad
Qureyh
Subash
Kabud
Beeza
Nakhshab (Nesef)
Chaduvan
Ramitan
Tavets
Bukhara
Varakhsha
Paykend
Nevida
Tarabr
Amul
Jeyhun (Amu Darya)
Tahiriya
Dargan
Sadvar
Jegend
Hazarasp
Kushmeyhen
Mery
Razik
Hummuzfera
Marghab
Bandiz
Sandanaqan
Serakhs
Meverud
Taleqan
Andkhud
Fariyab
Shabarqan
Anbar
Dehdadiya
Keliff
Dastjird
Siyahgird
Balkh
Termez
Jarkuduk
Kanjak
Chardzhui
Deve Ahemin pass
Chachanian pass
Tirmiz
Vakhsh
Vakhsh
Awjel
Khulm
Mele Crossing
Vahalj
Baghlan
Andereb
Semengan
Pargar
Rustaq
Taleqan
Kishm
Jerm
Ishkashim
Badakhshan
Hufbuk
Munk
Rud-i Sangin
Yazgulyam
Rasht
Kaniyan
Qaratigin
Darband
Khuttal
Kulab
Kurgan-Tyube
Qabadian
Wakhsh
Vakhsh
Panj
Amu Darya
Kafirnigan
Surkhan Darya
Qashqa Darya
Zarafshan
Kuvasay
Ferghana
Aksiket
Marghinan
Osh
Jegend
Quba
Khojend
Kerd
Badam
Asht
Turiket
Binaket
Kharashket
Shutukket
Zamin
Dzak
Penjkend
Bunjiket
Samarqand
Nur
Kushaniya
Kerminiya
Dasutiya
Abinjan
Nawgad
Qureyh
Subash
Kabud
Beeza
Nakhshab (Nesef)
Chaduvan
Ramitan
Tavets
Bukhara
Varakhsha
Paykend
Nevida
Tarabr
Amul
Jeyhun (Amu Darya)
Tahiriya
Dargan
Sadvar
Jegend
Hazarasp
Kushmeyhen
Mery
Razik
Hummuzfera
Marghab
Bandiz
Sandanaqan
Serakhs
Meverud
Taleqan
Andkhud
Fariyab
Shabarqan
Anbar
Dehdadiya
Keliff
Dastjird
Siyahgird
Balkh
Termez
Jarkuduk
Kanjak
Chardzhui
Deve Ahemin pass
Chachanian pass
Tirmiz
Vakhsh
Vakhsh
Awjel
Khulm
Mele Crossing
Vahalj
Baghlan
Andereb
Semengan
Pargar
Rustaq
Taleqan
Kishm
Jerm
Ishkashim
Badakhshan
Hufbuk
Munk
Rud-i Sangin
Yazgulyam
Rasht
Kaniyan
Qaratigin
Darband
Khuttal
Kulab
Kurgan-Tyube
Qabadian
Wakhsh
Vakhsh
Panj
Amu Darya
Kafirnigan
Surkhan Darya
Qashqa Darya
Zarafshan
Kuvasay
Ferghana

Map 9


BHOTAN
KUN LUN
Yarqi Dawan P.
Shahidulla
Yangi Dawan P.
KARAKORAM
Masherbrum
28,274
Karakoram Pass
18,290
Saser P.
17,820
Changlung P.
18,910
Lanak P.
17,998
Nanga Parbat
26,660
Deosai Plains
Rakaposhi
Haramosh
Gilgit
Baltit
Hunza
Nagar
Skardu
Astor
Rondu
Kharmang
Shigar
Kargil
Suru
Zanskar
Padum
Dras
Mulbek
Lamayuru
Wakha
Aichi
Sumda
Leh
Khalse
Tangtse
Chang Chenmo
Pangong Lake
Rutok
Tashigong
Gartok
Gertse
Kyelong
Keylong
Kaza
Kyoi
SPITI
Dankhar
Ta-pho
Rohtang
Kullu
Manali
Kangra
Dharmsala
Chamba
Pathankot
Gurdaspur
Jammu
Gujrat
Amritsar
Lahore
Mandi
Sutlej
Shipki P.
Luk
Tsaparang
Toling
Simla
Ludhiana
Chandhigarh
Dehra Dun
Manasarowar Lake
Nanda Devi
25,645
KASHMIR
GREAT HIMALAYA
DAKH
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
INDIA
GU - GE

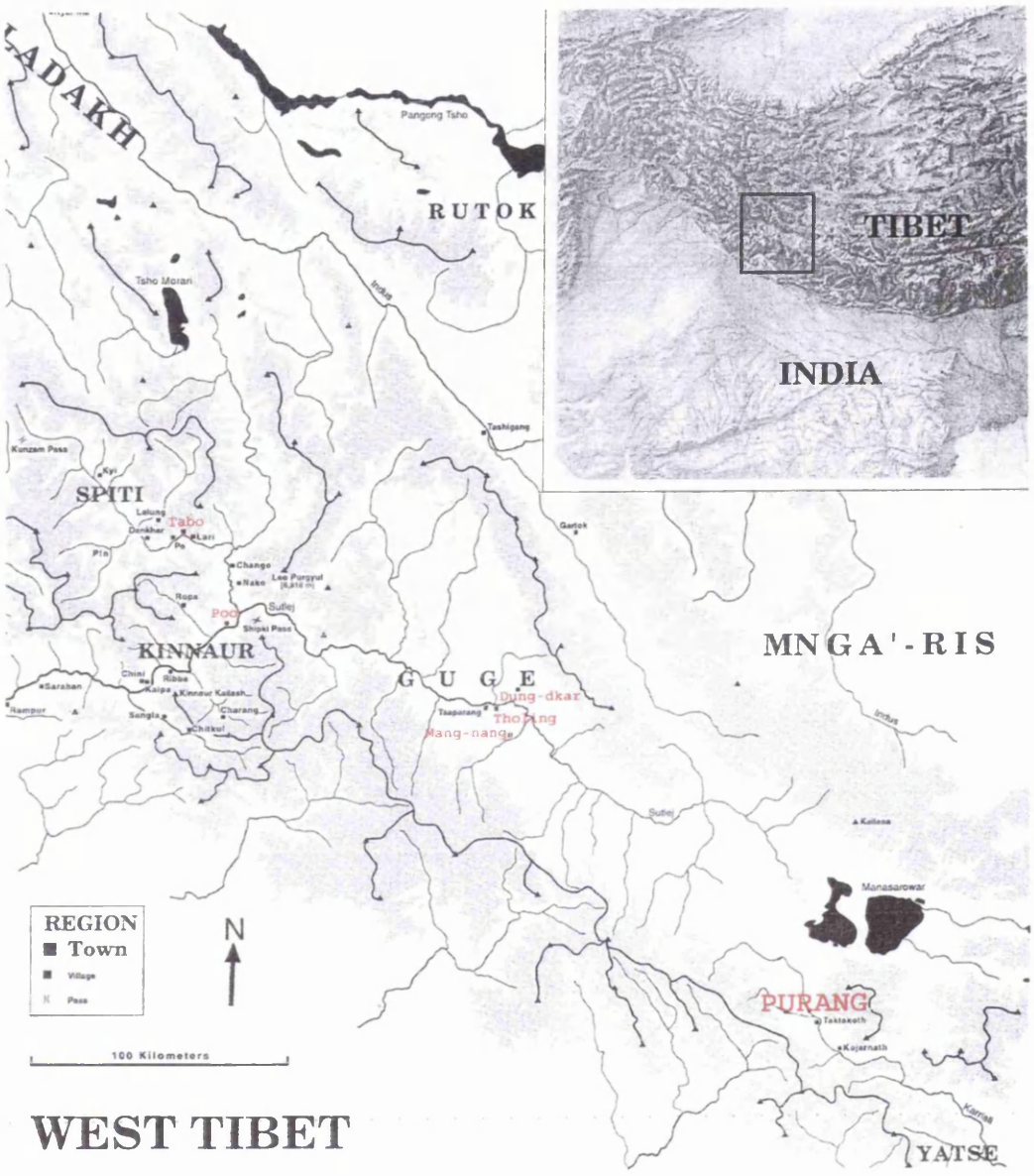
Map 10


Volga Bulgharia
KAZAKHSTAN
QIRGHIZ
Western Türk Qaghanate
Atil
MONGOLIA
Karabalghasun
Hami
Eastern Türk Qaghanate
Balasaghun
Bezeklik
Turfan
Kocho
UZBEKISTAN
Tashkent
KYRGYZSTAN
SOGHDIA
Samark
Kashghar
Kucha
Bukhara
TURKMENISTAN
TAJIKISTAN
TURKEY
CHINA
Khotan
SYRIA
Baghdad
Damascus
AFGHANISTAN
IRAQ
IRAN
JORDAN
KUWAIT
PAKISTAN
NEPAL

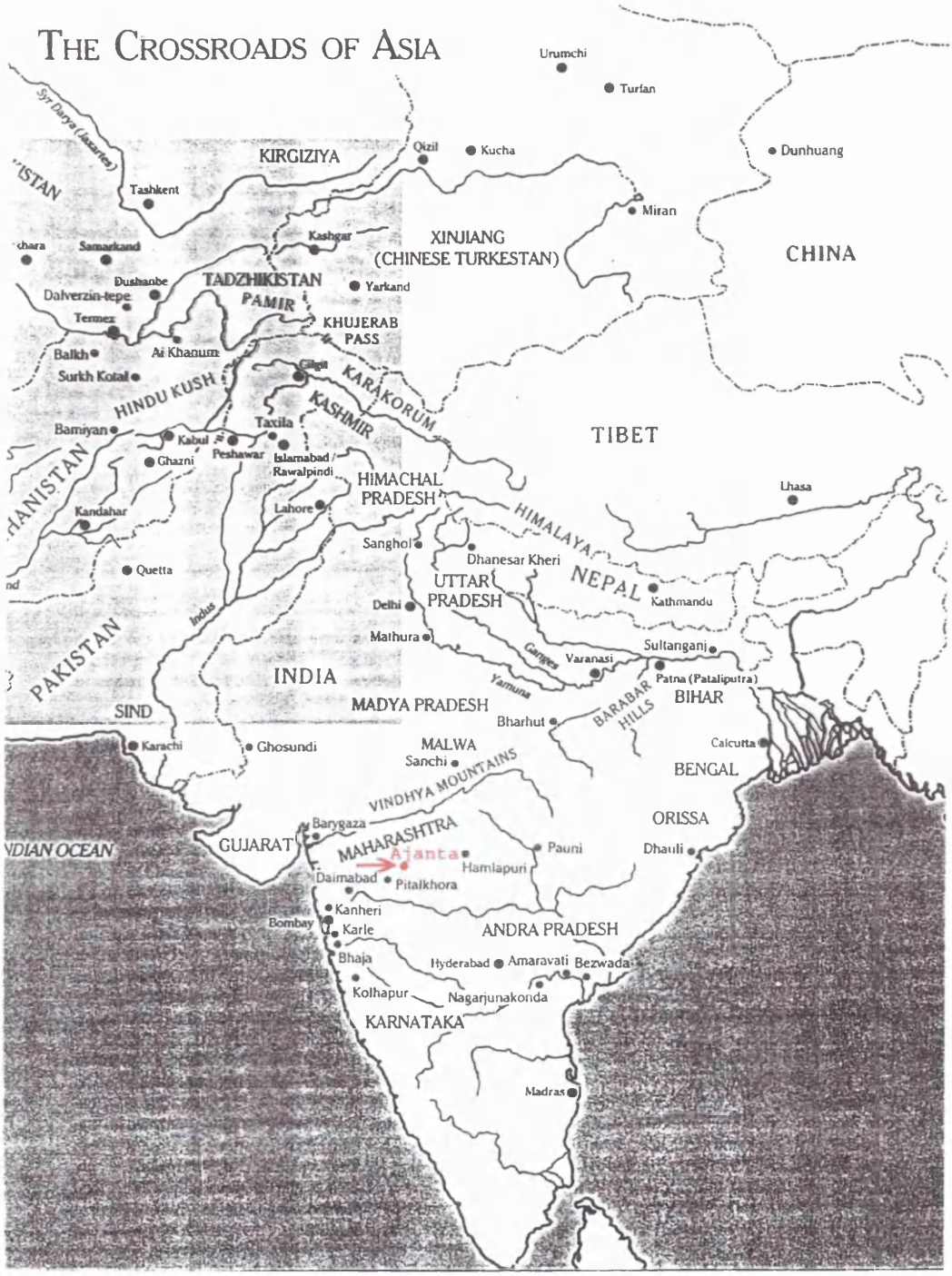
Map 11


UKRAINE
KAZAKHSTAN
MOLDOVA
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
Istanbul
Trebizond
GEORGIA
Amasya
ARMENIA
Ankara
TURKEY
AZERBAIJAN
Erzerum
Bursa
Karahisar
Kayseri
Malatya
Caldiran
Tabriz
Diyarbakir
Batman
Mardin
Mosul
Aleppo
Hamadan
CYPRUS
SYRIA
LEBANON
Damascus
Baghdad
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
IRAQ
JORDAN
KUWAIT
IRAN
Shiraz
Kirman
PAKISTAN
NEPAL
EGYPT
SAUDI
ARABIA
QATAR
UAE
INDIA
OMAN
Medina
Mecca
Gurgan
UZBEKISTAN
Tashkent
KYRGYZSTAN
Balasaghun
Samarkand
Kashghar
TURKMENISTAN
Bukhara
TAJIKISTAN
Dandanqan
Merv
Nishapur
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Ghazna
Khotan

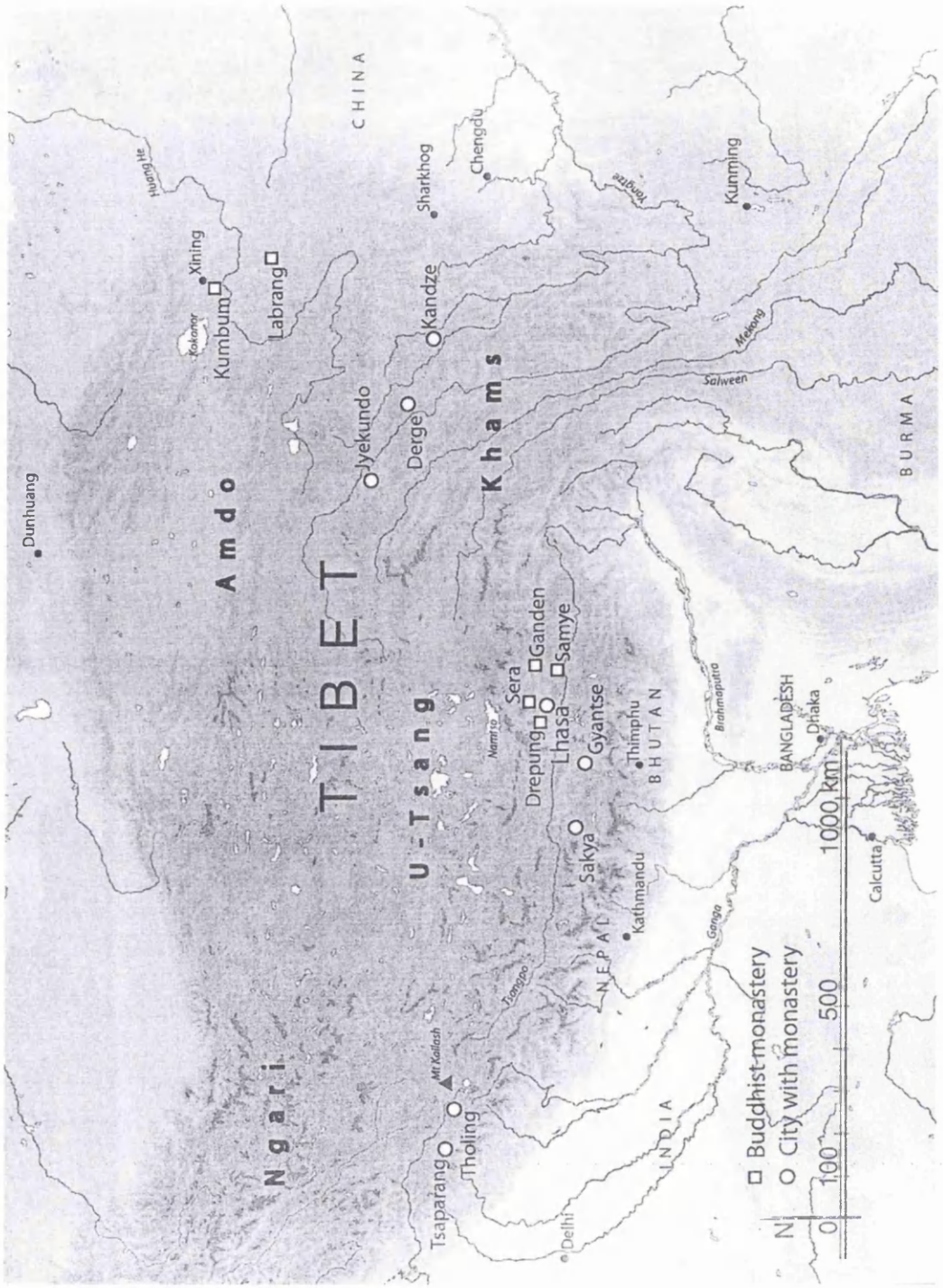
Map 12


LADAKH
Pangong Tsho
RUTOK
Tsho Morari
Indus
TIBET
INDIA
Tashigang
Kunzam Pass
Kyi
SPITI
Tabo
Dankhar
Lari
Po
Pin
Gartok
Chango
Nako
Lee Purgyul
Ropa
Pooh
Sutlej
Shipki Pass
KINNAUR
MNGA'-RIS
GUGE
Dung-dkar
Tsaparang
Tholing
Nang-nang
Sarahan
Chini
Ribba
Kalpa
Kinnour Kailash
Rampur
Sangla
Charang
Chitkul
Indus
Sutlej
Kailasa
Manasarowar
PURANG
Taklakoth
Kojarnath
Karnali
YATSE
REGION
Town
Village
Pass
N
100 Kilometers
WEST TIBET

Map 13


THE CROSSROADS OF ASIA
Urumchi
Turfan
Qizil
Kucha
Dunhuang
KIRGIZIYA
Tashkent
Miran
Kashgar
XINJIANG
(CHINESE TURKESTAN)
CHINA
Samarkand
Dushanbe
TADZHIKISTAN
Yarkand
Dalverzin-tepe
PAMIR
Termez
KHUJERAB
PASS
Balkh
Ai Khanum
Gilgit
Surkh Kotal
HINDU KUSH
KARAKORUM
KASHMIR
TIBET
Bamiyan
Taxila
Kabul
Peshawar
Islamabad
Rawalpindi
Ghazni
HIMACHAL
PRADESH
Lhasa
Lahore
HIMALAYA
Kandahar
Sanghol
Dhanesar Kheri
Quetta
UTTAR
PRADESH
NEPAL
Kathmandu
Delhi
Indus
Mathura
Sultanganj
Ganges
Varanasi
PAKISTAN
INDIA
Yamuna
Patna (Pataliputra)
BIHAR
SIND
MADYA PRADESH
BARABAR
HILLS
Bharhut
Karachi
Ghosundi
MALWA
Sanchi
Calcutta
BENGAL
VINDHYA MOUNTAINS
Barygaza
ORISSA
GUJARAT
MAHARASHTRA
Ajanta
Pauni
Dhauli
Hamlapuri
Daimabad
Pitalkhora
Kanheri
Bombay
Karle
ANDRA PRADESH
Bhaja
Hyderabad
Amaravati
Bezwada
Kolhapur
Nagarjunakonda
KARNATAKA
Madras

Map 13A


TIBET
Amdo
Khams
U-Tsang
Ngari
CHINA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
BURMA
BANGLADESH
Dunhuang
Xining
Kumbum
Labrang
Jyekundo
Derge
Kandze
Sharkhog
Chengdu
Kunming
Lhasa
Drepung
Sera
Ganden
Samye
Gyantse
Sakya
Tsaparang
Tholing
Mt Kailash
Kathmandu
Thimphu
Dhaka
Calcutta
Delhi
Huang He
Yangtze
Mekong
Salween
Brahmaputra
Ganga
Tsangpo
Nam Tso
Buddhist-monastery
City with monastery
0 100 500 1000 km
N

Map 14

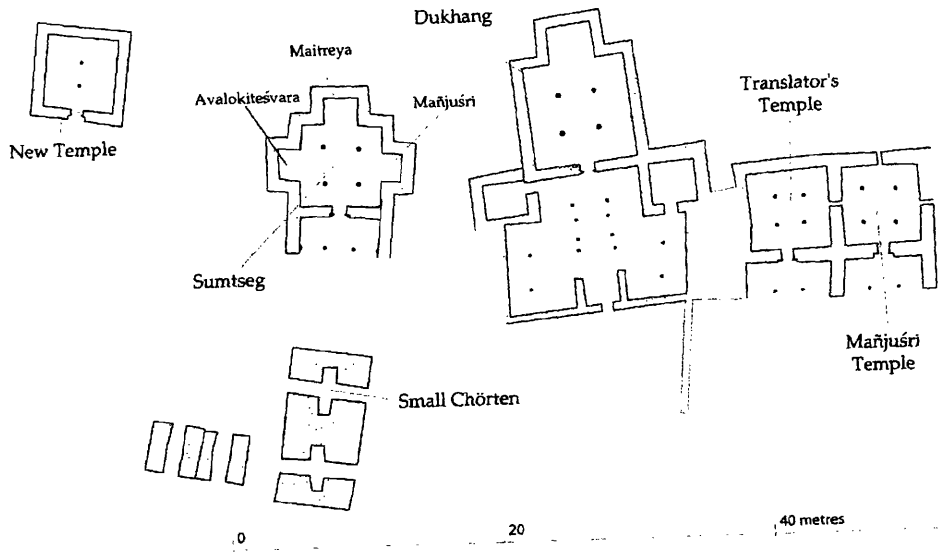
QIPCHAQS
GHANATE KIMEKS
QARLUQS
CHIGIL
TOKHARISTAN
TIBET
BOLOR
Aral Sea
Bishbaliq
Qocho
Cherchen
Niya
Keriya
Kucha (Kusan)
Aqsu
Yarkend
Kashghar
Khotan
Lake Balkhash
Barskhan
Balasaghun
Suyab
Talas (Taraz)
Shelji
Isfijab
Farab (Otrar)
Shavgar
Seyhun (Sir-Darya)
Jend
Yangikent
Kath
Hazarasp
Kerminiya
Bukhara
Amul
Paykend
Samarqand
Kushaniya
Bunjiket
Khojend
Binket
Nuket
Tunket
Marghinan
Akhsiket
Kasan
Uzgend
Osh
Quba
Rashi
Hulbuk
Qubadiyan
Badakhshan
Taleqan
Kulm
Balkh
Termez
Kelif
Chaghaniyan
Akhsisek
Zemm (Kerkuh)
Shapurgano
Yehudiya
Merverrud
Merv
Serakhs
Herat
Kabul
Harirud
Murghab
Surkhab
Kafirnigan
Vakhsh
Khatlon
Ili
Qaratal
Lake Balkhash
Chu
Talas
Issik-kol
Khaylan
Tekes
Manas
Aqsu
Yarkend
Kashghar
Khotan
Keriya
Niya
Cherchen
Bars-kol (Barkul)
Qomu (Hami)
L. Lop-nur
Chirchik
Chalish (Qarashahr)
L. Baghrash-kol
L. Ebi-nur
L. Zaysan
L. Ala-kol
Ayagoz
Sarysu
Igiz
Amu Darya
Seyhun (Amu Darya)
Murghab
Harirud
Surkhab
Kafirnigan
Vakhsh
Panj
Kunduz
Baghlan
Tashkurgan
Yarkend
Aksu
Uch
Khotan
Kucha
Qocho
Turfan
Lop-nur
Chirchik
Manas
Ili
Qaratal
Lake Balkhash
Chu
Talas
Issik-kol
Khaylan
Tekes

QUN
QIPCHAQ
ASHT-I QÏPCHAQ
QIPCHAQS
QANGLI
OGHUZ
OGHUZ YABGHU (to 1043)
OGHUZ 1040S
QIPCHAQS
QUN (?)
UYGHURS
UIDIQUTS
TIBET
MNGA'-RIS
QARLUQS
WESTERN QARLUQS
QARLUQ KHANATE
KARAKHANID KHANATE
KHUTTAL
BADAKHSHAN
WAKHAN
SHASH
FERGHANA
MAWARANNAHR
WESTERN QARAKHANID KHANATE
SUKNS
GHAZNAVIDS
Bars-kol (Barkul)
Qomul (Hami)
Bishbaliq
Qocho
Chalish (Qarashahr)
Cherchen
Niya
Keriya
Khotan
Yarkend
Kucha (Kusan)
Aqsu
Barskhan
Balasaghun
Kashghar
Uzgend
Osh
Quba
Akhsiket
Marghinan
Khojend
Tunket
Nuket
Binket
Benaket
Bunjiket
Kasan
Shelji
Tarazo
Otrar
Isfijab
Sighnaq
Sawran
Shavgar
Seyhun (Sir-Darya)
Kerminiya
Samargand
Bukhara
Neset
Kesh
Amul
Chaghaniyan
Termez
Zemm
Keif
Baikh
Khulm
Shapurgan
Taleqan
Badakhshan
Hulbuk
Merv
Merverrud
Maymana
Lake Balkhash
Issik-kol
Ala-kul
Qaratal
Manas
Tekes
Aqsu
Khotan
Yarkend
Kashghar
Murghab
Surkhab
Kokcha
Balkhab
Sarv-su
1089
1065

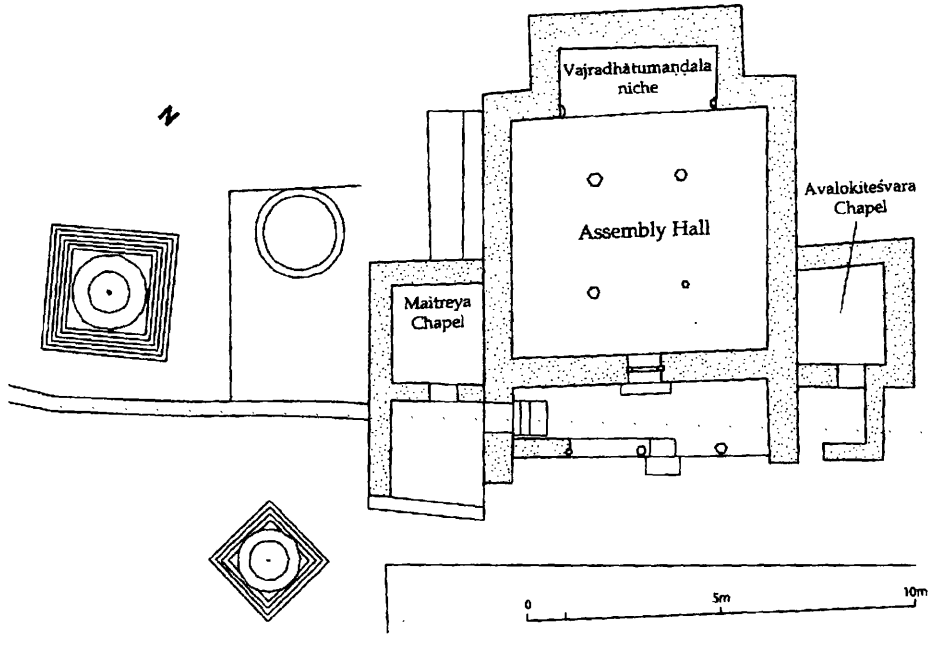
Map 16


NAYMANS
Emil
Lake Balkhash
L. Zaysan
L. Ala-kol
QARLUQ-YABGHU
(SEMIRECHE)
QARLUQS
Qayaliq
Almaliq
Bishbaliq
Bars-köl (Barkul)
Qomul (Hami)
Qocho
UYGHUR IDIQUTS
QARA-KHITAYS
(XILIAO)
Chalish (Qarashahr)
L. Bagrash-köl
Kucha (Kusan)
Sawran
Shavgar
Otrar
Taraz
Sheiji
Balasaghun
Barskhan
Isfijab
Uch
Aqsu
L. Lop-nur
Binket
Kasan
Akhsiket
Uzgend
Nuket
Benaket
Marghinan
Osh
Quba
Khojend
Bunjiket
Kashghar
EASTERN QAGHANATE
Cherchen
Yarkend
Khotan
Keriya
Niya
Hulbuk
Badakhshan
Taleqan
Baghlan
KHARISTAN
BOLOR
MNGA'-RIS
TIBET
Kabul

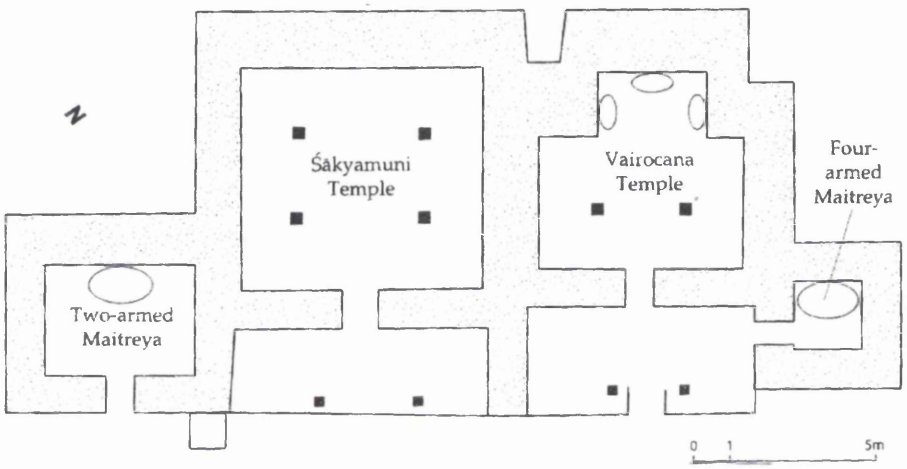
Map 17



Plan 1
ALCHI



Plan 2
SUMDA



Plan 3
MANGYU

BIBL
LONDON
UNIV